### Advantage 1 - Military Industrial Complex

#### Status quo laws permit guns on campus in many states, and legislative patterns indicate numbers will only increase

Zillman 15 "In 2015, U.S. states pushed to allow more guns on college campuses" by Claire Zillman, writer for Fortune Magazine and Fortune.com, October 3, 2015. <http://fortune.com/2015/10/03/oregon-shooting-guns-campus/>

Oregon—along with Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Oregon, Utah, Texas, and Wisconsin– [10 states] have provisions that allow the carrying of concealed weapons on public campuses**.** And this year, lawmakers in several states launched multiple efforts to follow suit.In 2015, legislators in 15 states introduced 22 bills that called for a loosening of gun restrictions on college campuses**,** according to The Campaign to Keep Guns Off Campus**.** By comparison, there was just one bill introduced that would make it tougher to carry a firearm on a college campus**.** The measure, introduced in California, would prohibit any concealed carry permit holder from bringing a weapon on a public or private college campus without permission from campus officials. It passed both houses of the state legislature and was submitted to Governor Jerry Brown for signature in early September**.** The pro-gun billsthat state legislatures considered this yearare indicative of a push by the gun lobby to open up another market of potential gun owners—college students**.** That’s veryappealing to theindustry’s biggest lobbying group, theNationa**l** RifleAssociation,and gun manufacturers**,** says Lindsay Nichols, a senior attorney at the Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence.

#### The current demand for handguns on campus enables the military industrial complex to permeate everyday life, and aims to turn campuses into war zones hailed as protectors of liberty

Giroux 15, Henry. America's Addiction to Violence. www.counterpunch.org/2015/12/25/americas-addiction-to-violence-2/ December 25, 2015. NP 1/2/16.

Moderate calls for reining in the gun culture and its political advocates amount to band aid solutions that do not address the roots of the violence causing so much carnage in the United States, especially among children and teens. For example, Hilary Clinton’s much publicized call for controlling the gun lobby and background checks, however well intentioned, have nothing to say about a culture of lawlessness and violence reproduced by the government, the financial elites, the defense industries, or a casino capitalism that is built on corruption and produces massive amounts of human misery and suffering. Moreover, none of the calls to eliminate gun violence in the United States link such violence to the broader war on youth, especially poor minorities in the United States. In spite of ample reporting of gun violence, what has flown under the radar is that in the last three years 1 child under 12 years-old has been killed every other day by a firearm, which amounts to 555 children killed by guns in three years. An even more frightening statistic and example of a shocking moral and political perversity was noted in data provided by the Centers for Disease control and Prevention (CDC), which stated that “2,525 children and teens died by gunfire in [the United States] in 2014; one child or teen death every 3 hours and 28 minutes, nearly 7 a day, 48 a week.”[2] In addition, 58 people are lost to firearms every day. Such figures indicate that too many youth in America occupy what might be called war zones in which guns and violence proliferate. In this scenario, guns and its insane culture of violence and hyper-masculinity are given more support than young people and life itself. The predominance of a relatively unchecked gun culture and a morally perverse and politically obscene culture of violence is particularly evident in the power of the gun lobby and its gun rights political advocates to pass legislation in eight states that allow[s] students and faculty to carry concealed weapons “into classrooms, dormitories and other buildings” on campuses.[3] Texas lawmakers, for instance, passed one such “campus carry bill,” which will take effect in August of 2016. Such laws not only reflect “the seemingly limitless legislative clout of gun interests,” [and] but also a rather deranged return to the violence-laden culture of the “wild west.” As in the past, individuals will be allowed to walk the streets openly carrying guns and packing heat as a measure of their love of guns and their reliance upon violence as the best way to address any perceived threat to their security. This return to the deadly practices of the “wild west” is neither a matter of individual choice nor some far-fetched yet allegedly legitimate appeal to the second amendment. On the contrary, mass violence in America has to be placed within a broader historical, economic, and political context in order to address the totality of forces that produce it.[4] Focusing merely on the mass shootings, or the passing of potentially dangerous gun legislation does not get to the root of the systemic forces that produce America’s love affair with violence and the ideologies and criminogenic institutions that produce it. Imperial policies that promote aggression all across the globe are now matched by increasing levels of lawlessness and state repression, which mutually feed each other. On the home front, civil society is degenerating into a military organization, a space of lawlessness and war-like practices, organized primarily for the production of violence. For instance, as Steve Martinot observes, the police now use their discourse of command and power to criminalize behavior; in addition, they use military weapons and surveillance tools as if they are preparing for war, and create a culture of fear in which militaristic principles replace legal principles. He writes: This suggests that there is an institutional insecurity that seeks to cover itself through social control, for which individual interactions with the police are the means. Indeed, with their command position over people, the cops act out this insecurity by criminalizing individuals in advance. No legal principle need be involved. There is only the militarist principle. When the pregnant woman steps away from the cop, she is breaking no law. To force her to ground and handcuff her is far from anything intended by the principle of due process in the Constitution. The Constitution provided for law enforcement, but not for police impunity. When police shoot a fleeing subject and claim they are acting in self-defense (i.e. threatened), it is not their person but the command and control principle that is threatened. To defend that control through assault or murderous action against a disobedient person implies that the cop’s own identity is wholly immersed in its paradigm. There is nothing psychological about this. Self-worth or insecurity is not the issue. There is only the military ethic of power, imposed on civil society through an assumption of impunity. It is the ethos of democracy, of human self-respect, that is the threat.[5]

#### Guns in higher education are a pre-political means of control that trades open and free discussion for fear and radical individualism, limiting colleges’ liberatory potential

DeBrabander 15, Firmin. Campus Carry vs. Faculty Rights. https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2015/03/19/essay-movement-allow-guns-campuses-violates-academic-freedom March 19, 2015. NP 1/2/16

As the campus carry movement picks up steam nationwide, there is, I would argue, another major concern worth considering -- one that has been wholly omitted thus far: How might guns impact the atmosphere and pedagogical goals of the classroom, and the political mission of the university? For, it seems clear to me, guns stand opposed to all that. There is something inherently contradictory about guns in college. They are a rude, unnecessary intrusion from the outside world, and threaten the intimacy and openness that academe hopes to foster. American philosopher John Dewey argued that the classroom is the root of democracy, since it is where individuals learn to talk to people of different backgrounds and perspectives, collaborate, and negotiate differences. The classroom is where the all-important process of socialization occurs -- something that cannot take place at home, steeped in the privacy of family life. A functioning and vibrant democracy requires that citizens learn to work with one another, which in turn demands openness -- and a willingness to trust. Guns communicate the opposite of all that — they announce, and transmit, suspicion and hostility. In the humanities (where I teach), the seminar room is a designated space for intellectual exploration, and students must feel safe and encouraged to do just that. They are expected to take risks -- moral, political and personal. Controversial ideas are aired, deliberated and contemplated from many angles. Sometimes these ideas are offensive. Many academics will contend that, at least ideally, classroom debate should be lively, even heated at times. Emotions may run high. As a case in point, I think of the many uncomfortable discussions following the Ferguson and Staten Island police killings last year. Differing views of what constituted racism -- and especially, whether racism lingered and was still entrenched -- elicited highly personal conversations, sharp comments and campus protest. In frank discussions, ugliness, racist undertones and deep cultural mistrust were exposed. Honest exchange is the only way forward amid such controversies; different perspectives and experiences, even if they cause resentment in the short run, must be uncovered and understood if we hope to expand the bounds of empathy. Unpopular views must get a hearing in the classroom. Professors are obligated to foster a setting where students feel comfortable airing their most deep-seated fears and prejudices -- which may not be looked on kindly by others. Guns in the classroom threaten this dynamic. Will students feel so safe and free when surrounded by other students who may be, secretly, arms bearers? Will they feel emboldened to take moral and political risks? Will they feel inclined to air potentially offensive views? I doubt it. In fact, the prospect of guns in the classroom is more likely to cause professors to keep the conversation tepid and avoid certain controversies; everyone else will watch what they say, how they say it and to whom. This would be quite the opposite of the open and transformative exchange that universities have made it their mission to offer. There is a further point. As we saw in the aftermath of the Ferguson and Staten Island police incidents, and earlier with the Occupy Wall Street movement, university campuses are places where political protest takes root. Perhaps colleges are not quite the haven for political protest that they once were -- like, say, in the 1960's. But universities have traditionally been places where students practice protest -- where they practice articulating and voicing political concern, and engaging in productive, demonstrative assembly. Sometimes the protest tactics they practice are aggressive, and push the envelope. Again, I would say, this is how it ought to be on campus -- it hearkens back to universities’ role as political incubators and testing grounds. But guns are noxious in an atmosphere where people will experiment with risky methods of protest. To that extent, guns on campus may well kill such protest. Guns may provide a basic kind of bodily and personal safety. This is the recurring argument put forth by campus carry proponents. This argument is dubious at best. But this much is clear: guns do nothing to help universities attain the kind of safety they desire and need -- the safety that enables intellectual and political exploration. Guns by their very nature dampen speech -- they chasten it. Colleges simply cannot tolerate them.

#### Militarization leads to multiple forms of violence domestically and abroad

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

Since 9/11, the war on terror and the campaign for homeland security have increasingly mimicked the tactics of the enemies they sought to crush. Violence and punishment as both a media spectacle and a bone-crushing reality have become prominent and influential forces shaping American society. As the boundaries between "the realms of war and civil life have collapsed," social relations and the public services needed to make them viable have been increasingly privatized and militarized.(1) The logic of profitability works its magic in channeling the public funding of warfare and organized violence into universities, market-based service providers and deregulated contractors. The metaphysics of war and associated forms of violence now creep into every aspect of American society. Also see: Violence, USA: An Interview with Henry A. Giroux Monday, 07 May 2012 By Michael Slate and Henry A Giroux The Michael Slate Show | Interview As the preferred "instrument of statecraft,"(2) war and its intensifying production of violence cross borders, time, space and places. Seemingly without any measure of self-restraint, state-sponsored violence flows and regroups, contaminat[es]ing both foreign and domestic policies. One consequence of the permanent warfare state is evident in the public revelations concerning a number of war crimes committed recently by US government forces. These include the indiscriminate killings of Afghan civilians by US drone aircraft; the barbaric murder of Afghan children and peasant farmers by American infantrymen infamously labeled as "the kill team";(3) disclosures concerning four American Marines urinating on dead Taliban fighters; and the recent uncovering of photographs showing "more than a dozen soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division's Fourth Brigade Combat Team, along with some Afghan security forces, posing with the severed hands and legs of Taliban attackers in Zabul Province in 2010."(4) And, shocking even for those acquainted with standard military combat, there is the case of Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, who "walked off a small combat outpost in Kandahar province and slaughtered 17 villagers, most of them women and children and later walked back to his base and turned himself in."(5) Mind-numbing violence, war crimes and indiscriminate military attacks on civilians on the part of the US government are far from new, of course, and date back to infamous acts such as the air attacks on civilians in Dresden along with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II.(6) Military spokespersons are typically quick to remind the American public that such practices are part of the price one pays for combat and are endemic to war itself. The history of atrocities committed by the United States in the name of war need not be repeated here, but some of these incidents have doubled in on themselves and fueled public outrage against the violence of war.(7) One of the most famous was the My Lai massacre, which played a crucial role in mobilizing anti-war protests against the Vietnam War. Even dubious appeals to national defense and honor can provide no excuse for mass killings of civilians, rapes and other acts of destruction that completely lack any justifiable military objective. Not only does the alleged normative violence of war disguise the moral cowardice of the warmongers, it also demonizes the enemy and dehumanizes soldiers. It is this brutalizing psychology of desensitization, emotional hardness and the freezing of moral responsibility that is particularly crucial to understand, because it grows out of a formative culture in which war, violence and the dehumanization of others becomes routine, commonplace and removed from any sense of ethical accountability. It is necessary to recognize that acts of extreme violence and cruelty do not represent merely an odd or marginal and private retreat into barbarism. On the contrary, warlike values and the social mindset they legitimate have become the primary currency of a market-driven culture, which takes as its model a Darwinian shark tank in which only the strong survive. At work in the new hyper-social Darwinism is a view of the other as the enemy; an all-too-quick willingness in the name of war to embrace the dehumanization of the other; and an only too-easy acceptance of violence, however extreme, as routine and normalized. As many theorists have observed, the production of extreme violence in its various incarnations is now a show and source of profit for Hollywood moguls, mainstream news, popular culture and the entertainment industry and a major market for the defense industries.(8) This pedagogy of brutalizing hardness and dehumanization is also produced and circulated in schools, boot camps, prisons, and a host of other sites that now trade in violence and punishment for commercial purposes, or for the purpose of containing populations that are viewed as synonymous with public disorder. The mall, juvenile detention facilities, many public housing projects, privately owned apartment buildings and gated communities all embody a model of failed sociality and have come to resemble proto-military spaces in which the culture of violence and punishment becomes the primary order of politics, fodder for entertainment and an organizing principle for society. Even public school reform is now justified in the dehumanizing language of national security, which increasingly legitimates the transformation of schools into adjuncts of the surveillance and police state.(9) The privatization and militarization of schools mutually inform each other as students are increasingly subjected to disciplinary apparatuses which limit their capacity for critical thinking, mold them into consumers, test them into submission, strip them of any sense of social responsibility and convince large numbers of poor minority students that they are better off under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system than by being valued members of thy public schools. All of these spaces and institutions, from malls to schools, are coming to resemble war zones. They produce and circulate forms of symbolic and real violence that dissolve the democratic bonds of social reciprocity just as they appeal incessantly to the market-driven egocentric interests of the autonomous individual, a fear of the other and a stripped-down version of security that narrowly focuses on personal safety rather than collective security nets and social welfare.

#### Collective struggle against militarization enables us to reclaim public spheres, and challenge the military industrial complex

Giroux 9, Henry A. . (Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University) The Politics of Higher Education and the Militarized Academy after 9/11. Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics, No. 29, The University & Its Discontents: Egyptian & Global Perspectives / ايملاعو ًايلحم :اهمومهو ةعماجلا‎ً (2009), pp. 104-126. Department of English and Comparative Literature, American University in Cairo and American University in Cairo Press. NP 1/1/16.

#### **Over seventeen million students pass through** the hallowed **halls of academe in America**, and **it is crucial that they be educated in ways that enable them to recognize the creeping militarization**, corporatiza tion, **threats to academic freedom, and other fundamentalist tendencies** that threaten "democratic government at home just as theymenace the independence and sovereignty of other countries."67 But **students must** also **recognize how** such **anti-democratic forces** work in **attempt**ing **to dismantle the university** itself **as a place to learn how to think critically and participate in public debate and civic engagement.** In part, this means giving them the tools to fight for the demilitarization of knowl edge on college campuses?to resist complicity with theproduction of knowledge, information, and technologies inclassrooms and research labs that contribute tomilitarized goals and purposes. 118 Alif29 (2009) This content downloaded from 146.95.224.2 on Fri, 01 Jan 2016 20:12:33 UTC All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions ￼ ￼Opposing militarization as part of a broader pedagogical strategy in and out of the classroom also raises the question of what kinds of com petencies, skills, and knowledge might be crucial to such a task.**One pos sibility is to develop a kind of praxis that addresses what I call an oppositional pedagogy of cultural production**, one **that defines the pedagogi cal space of learning,** not only **through** the critical consumption of knowl edge, but also through **its production for peaceful and socially just ends**. What is at stake here is the crucial need for students to learn how to do more thancritically engage and interpretprint,visual, andmedia texts,as significant as such a taskmight be as part of their learning experience. This means that **as** the **forces of militarization increasingly monopolize the** dominant **media**, **students, activists, and educators must imagine ways to expand the limits of critical modes of education to enable the uni versity to shape** coming generations of **cultural producers capable of negotiating** not only the old media forms, such as broadcasting and reporting, but also the new electronic media, which have come to play a crucial role in bypassing those forms ofmedia concentrated in the hands of corporate and military interests. The currentmonopolization of the media suggests that students will have to be educated inways that allow them to develop alternative public spheres where they can produce their own films, videos, music, radio talk shows, newspapers, magazines, and othermodes of public pedagogy. The militarization of everyday life? from the production of video games to the uncritical analysis of war and violence in the nightly news?must be challenged through alternative media. Examples of this type of oppositional public pedagogy are evident in thework of a wide range of individuals and groups who make cultur al politics and public pedagogy central to theiropposition of a number of anti-democratic forces such as militarization and neoliberalism. For instance, theMedia Education Foundation under the leadership of Sut Jhally produces a range of excellent documentaries and videos for youth, many of which address themilitarization of the culture.69 Raising aware ness about the presence and influence of themilitary in the university, popular culture, and other vital public spheres is now being carried out by student groups and organizations such as theWar Resisters League and theGlobal Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space (an organization which consists of songwriters and singers who produce music protesting themilitarization of space).70 In thefight against thebiopolitics ofmilitarization, **educators** need a language of critique, but they also **need** a of **hope and collective struggle**. This means Alif29 (2009) language that embraces elaborating themeaning a sense of pol This content downloaded from 146.95.224.2 on Fri, 01 Jan 2016 20:12:33 UTC All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions 119 ￼ ￼itics **through** a language of critique and possibility, on the one hand, and a **concerted effort to expand the space of politics by reclaiming "the public character of spaces, relations, and institutions regarded as private,"** on the other.71We live at a timewhen matters of lifeand death are central topolit ical sovereignty.While theories of biopolitics have rightly alerted us to the shift in power, politics, and sovereignty toward the large-scale production of death, disposability, and exclusion, **we** also **need a biopolitics that enables notions of agency, resistance, power, and responsibility that operate in the service of** life,democratic struggles, and the **expansion of** human **rights**. Such strugglesmust bemade visible, and can be found among AIDS workers inAfrica, organized labor inLatin America, and Palestinians act ing as human shields against Israeli tanks in theWest Bank and Gaza. We can also see a biopolitics of resistance and hope atwork in a long tradition of anti-militarist struggles in theUnited States waged by feminists, gays, war resisters and others, which have taken place not only in thewider pub lic sphere but also in themilitary itself72Efforts to end violence, speak out against war, and criticize acts of tortureand abuse extend from the found ingof thenation to theanti-warmovements of the 1960s and thenew mil lennium, including the emergence of groups fighting against thirdworld sweat shops (and other exploitative labor practices), the exploitation of women, racism, wage slavery, child poverty, therise of an imperial presi dency, and the ongoing wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and theMiddle East. Even so, there ismore at stake than simply educating students to be alert to the dangers of militarization and the ways in which it is redefining the very mission of higher education. Chalmers Johnson, in his continuing critique of the threat that the politics of empire presents to democracy at home and abroad, argues that if the United States is not to degenerate into a military dictatorship, grass roots movements will have to occupy center stage in opposing mil itarization, government secrecy, and imperial power, while reclaim ing the basic principles of democracy.73 Such a taskmay seem daunting, but if the people are to choose democracy over empire, as Johnson puts it, then **there is also the cru cial need for faculty, students, administrators, and concerned citizens to develop alliances for long-term organizations to resist the growing ties among government agencies,** corporations, and higher education that engage in reproducing militarized knowledge. This might require severing all relationships between theuniversity and intelligence agen cies and war industries. Itwould also mean keeping military recruiters out of public and higher education. 120 Alif29 (2009) This content downloaded from 146.95.224.2 on Fri, 01 Jan 2016 20:12:33 UTC All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions ￼ ￼Finally, if higher education is to come to grips with themulti layered pathologies produced by militarization, not merely the space of the university as a democratic public sphere, but also the global space inwhich intellectuals, educators, students, artists, labor unions, and other social actors and movements transnational alliances to oppose the death-dealing ideology rization and its effects on the world?including violence, can form of milita pollution, massive poverty, racism, the arms trade, growth of privatized armies, civil conflict, child slavery, and the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Surely it is time for educators and students to take a stand and develop global organizations that can be mobilized in the effort to supplant a culture of war with a culture of peace, whose elemental principles must be grounded in relations of economic, political, cul tural, and social democracy and the desire to sustain human life. Notes 1Qtd. inMartin Plissner, "Flunking Statistics." American Prospect 13.23 (December 30,2002), <http://www.prospect.org/print-friendly/print/V13/ .html>. 2 Susan Buck-Morss, Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on theLeft (NY and London: Verso, 2003), 33. 3 JohnArmitage, "Beyond Hypermodern Militarized Knowledge Factories," Review ofEducation, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies 27 (2005): 221. 4While there are some excellent older analyses of themilitary-academic complex, more recent critiques aremarginal to the literatureon themil itary-industrial complex. Some recent analyses include: Sigmund Diamond, Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities With the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955 (NY: Oxford, 1992); StuartW. Leslie, The Cold War and American Science: The Military Industrial-Academic Complex atMIT and Stanford (NY: Columbia UP, 1993); G. Pascal Zachary, Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of theAmerican Century (NY: The Free P, 1997); Rebecca S. Lo wen, Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford (Berkeley: U of California P, 1997); Noam Chomsky et al., The Cold War and theUniversity: Toward

#### While diverse social factors contribute to the culture of violence, restricting access to guns helps rupture reliance on militarism, and deference to the gun industry

Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. (Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University) www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

Rather than arming people with more guns, criminalizing every aspect of social behavior, militarizing the police and allowing the gun lobby to sanction putting semiautomatic weapons in the hands of children and adults, the most immediate action that can be taken is to institute effective gun control laws. As Bernardine Dohrn has argued:

We want gun control that sanctions manufacturers, distributors and adults who place, and profit from, deadly weapons in the possession of youth. We want military-style weaponry banned. We want smaller schools with nurses and social workers, librarians and parent volunteers - all of which are shown to contribute to less disruption and less violence. Let's promote gun-control provisions and regulations that enhance teaching and learning as well as justice and safety for children, not those that will further incarcerate, punish and demonize young people of color. We've been there before. [(13)](http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us#a13)

And Dohrn's suggestions would be only the beginning of real reform, one that goes right to the heart of eliminating the violence at the core of US society. The United States has become a society that is indifferent to the welfare of its citizens, as the drive for profits has replaced any vestige of social and moral responsibility. Violence has arisen from the breakdown of public space, the erasure of public goods and a growing disdain for the common good.

Gratuitous violence is no longer merely a sport or form of entertainment; it has become central to a society that trades on fear and fetishizes hyperviolent and punitive practices and social relations. Brutal, masculine authority now rules US society and wages a war against women's reproductive rights, civil liberties, poor Black and Brown youth and Mexican immigrants. When violence becomes an organizing principle of society, the fabric of a democracy begins to unravel, suggesting that the United States is at war with itself. When politicians refuse out of narrow self and financial interests to confront the conditions that create such violence, they have blood on their hands.

Note: This article draws on a much shorter version that appeared in CounterPunch.

### Advantage 2 - Racism

#### Campus carry silences minority voices – Black students are threatened by white students who carry guns, while simultaneously ostracized if they choose to carry themselves

Gordon et al 15 explains the situation at UT. Dr. Edmund T. Gordon and The Faculty Of Aads, 10-26-2015, "Warfield Center for African and African American Studies on Campus Carry," Gun Free UT, http://gunfreeut.org/warfield-center/, accessed 1-17-2016. NP.

In this country, which devalues black life as one of its founding principles, the expansion of citizens’ rights to bear firearms facilitates the violent deaths of Blacks. Accordingly, the faculty of the John L. Warfield Center for African and African American Studies stands with African and African Diaspora Studies Department (AADS) in opposing the implementation of Texas SB11. This law will allow the more than 800,000 Texas Concealed Handgun License holders to carry their concealed weapons into buildings on our campus. Allowing firearms on campus places [makes] UT’s Black population in a particularly vulnerable position. Many of us are concentrated spatially, politically, and intellectually in Black Studies. Ours is a particularly controversial discipline that deals with provocative themes such as anti- blackness, white supremacy, patriarchy, homophobia, economic oppression, and crosscutting differences and power. Black Studies grapples with these issues and the Black experience in general as a part of scholarly endeavors that aim to promote social justice and equity. Educational exchanges around such subject matter are often highly charged, difficult, and consequential. It is not uncommon for Warfield Center faculty to be the object of documented threats and harassment in our offices and lecture halls. The presence of firearms will not only stifle the free exchange of ideas [and] but can be the basis for deadly violence against us in these often fraught settings. Moreover, African Americans are disproportionality affected by the saturation of our society by firearms. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention the death rate due to gun violence for Blacks is more than twice that of whites. Vigilante and extra-judicial killings of Black people, as well as the police-involved shootings that saturate our news coverage and our daily lives, point to the distinctly vulnerable position of Black people when it comes to firearm violence. Applied to our situation here at UT, in the presence of firearms the probability that bullets will find us is higher than for any other campus population. At the same time, racial bias functionally excludes Black people from accessing the rights afforded by campus carry legislation, **as we [who] would be more likely than our white counterparts to be perceived as actionable threats by fellow citizens and police officers alike.** When it comes to Black lives and the matter of guns on campus, the State and the University have a responsibility to protect and defend those who are most vulnerable. Therefore, we demand that firearms be banned in all spaces occupied by Black people on our campus. We stand in solidarity with other groups on our campus who are often impacted by firearms and other forms of violence, particularly members of the University’s LGBTQ community, other people of color, and all women. Accordingly, we would join with them in any request that guns be completely banned from the UT campus. Near Unanimous Endorsement by Faculty of John L. Warfield Center for African and African American Studies

#### Colleges don’t become magnets for mass shootings – empirical analysis proves RTC laws have no impact

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Central to Lott’s argument against gun-free zones is a 2000 study in which he claimed to find that the expansion of RTC laws reduces the number of people in those states killed or injured in multiple-victim shootings by a staggering 78 percent. Lott’s study, however, suffers from enormous flaws, including incorrect statistical modeling and dubious data-selection methodology.

In one example of statistical malpractice, Lott excludes many mass-shooting incidents in which the shooter was committing an additional felony (such as armed robbery) during the crime, despite the fact that felony-related mass murders account for 36 percent of the data set on which he bases the study. Lott’s explanation for doing so was an unjustified presumption that bystanders in crimes like robberies or drug deals will already “be engaged in unlawful activities that often require them to carry guns.” However, analysis of this claim reveals that 69 percent of the mass shootings excluded by Lott involved robberies committed in public locations (like convenience stores and fast-food restaurants) where the bystanders were innocent civilians. If RTC laws are to have any effect at all, then surely they would apply to such situations, making it unclear how Lott could choose to ignore them. When Lott’s research is compared to a more recent study using more appropriate statistical models and a wider range of available data, the beneficial effect of Right to Carry policy vanishes. The authors of a 2002 study, a trio with combined criminology and economics expertise, evaluated RTC laws in 25 states from 1977 to 1999, an expanded version of Lott’s analysis (which covered 23 states in that same time period). They concluded that “RTC laws have no effect on mass public shootings at all.”

#### Guns don’t promote safety – they’re rarely used in self-defense and criminal use is more frequent

Hemenway and Solnick 15. David Hemenway a, ⁎, Sara J. Solnick b. The epidemiology of self-defense gun use: Evidence from the National Crime Victimization Surveys 2007–2011. ac.els-cdn.com/S0091743515001188/1-s2.0-S0091743515001188-main.pdf?\_tid=0b1b005a-c118-11e5-867f-00000aab0f26&acdnat=1453474651\_7adb8b280d68ae78d89356de65e70ceb. a Harvard School of Public Health, 677 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA 02115, USA b Department of Economics, University of Vermont, 237 Old Mill, Burlington, VT, USA. 21 April 2015. Preventive Medicine 79 (2015) 22-27. NP 1/22/16. (methodology for NCVS in footnote)[[1]](#footnote-1). NP 1/20/16.

Overall, our analyses of the NCVS data indicate that self-defense gun use is very rare**, and** victims virtually never use[d] guns in sexual assaults. The data also indicate that self-defense gun uses are far fewer than criminal gun uses. Most self-defense gun use is by males and occurs outside the home. Half of the self-defense gun uses occur in what appear to be non-violent crimes (e.g., verbal threats). The NCVS data provide little evidence that self-defense **gun use** reduces the likelihood of victim injury during a crime. The data do suggest that using a gun may be useful at preventing property loss, but not more effective than protective action using other weapons

#### Even so – politicians frame campus carry as an expansion of the right to self-defense. Instead, carrying guns to class engenders problematic values of sovereignty that re-entrench racism and isolationism

Kautzer 15, Chad. Good Guys with Guns: From Popular Sovereignty to Self-Defensive Subjectivity. Law Critique (2015) 26:173–187 DOI 10.1007/s10978-015-9156-x. April 8, 2015. NP. 12/1/16

My students bring[ing] guns to class. This is troubling, not only because it poses obvious health risks to others, and to the gun-toting students themselves, but because it is indicative of an emergent and pernicious form of political subjectivity in the United States—one which engenders equally **problematic** notions of freedom, security and sovereignty. I refer to this subjectivity as self-defensive. Its development has less to do with individual protection against criminality than with the defense of a raced and gendered form of autonomy and its ‘metaphysics of domination’ (Brown 1995, p. 6). The rapid liberalization of open- and concealed-carry laws, the proliferation of guns in public spaces and institutions, the reinterpretation of the Second Amendment of the US Constitution, and the abstraction and individuation of the Castle Doctrine in Stand Your Ground laws all contribute to the legalization of nonstate violence to defend extra-legal relations of domination.

It is therefore not crime that threatens this autonomy, but the perceived failure of the state to protect extra-legal spaces of rule that are necessary for maintaining the social structures of race and gender against gains made by feminist and anti-racist social movements. The newfound urgency in the legislative expansion of the right to self-defense, as well as extremist interpretations of this right, is a response to the threatened collapse of these spaces of domination and thus the means of identity constitution.1 Since the state is accused of being unwilling to exercise its coercive powers to stabilize these relations of domination as it has in the past, individuals have sought to arrogate such powers to themselves; a privatization of state violence through the quasi-deputization of certain groups. While I argue that the self-defensive subjectivity supported by these developments is new, it did not arise ex nihilo, but rather represents a quantitative-turnedqualitative shift within a long tradition of popular sovereignty in the United States. Historically, popular sovereignty has been predicated on the existence of spaces of lawlessness or states of exception in which private ‘sovereign subjects’ can exercise domination and non-criminal violence, be it over women, LGBTQ people, immigrants, racial minorities, prisoners, or in its most extreme form, slaves. Popular sovereignty, understood as a universal and abstract equality (de jure) among ‘the people’ for self-rule, has always contradicted its (de facto) operations as a mechanism of domination, which divides ‘the people’ (as a fictional body) into actual sub-state relations of rule. The hallmark of this tradition is the disavowal of the social conditions of individual freedom through a process of objectification and naturalization. This facilitates the practical relations that constitute the ruler or sovereign subjects through subjugating violence beyond the law.Even

#### Thus the plan text: the Fifty States of the United States of America will ban private ownership of handguns on college campuses.

GOC: The Campaign to Keep Guns Off Campus “About Us” <http://keepgunsoffcampus.org/about/> NP 2/10/16

The Campaign to Keep Guns off Campus works with colleges and universities across the country to oppose legislative policies that would force loaded, concealed guns on campuses. Since 2008, The Campaign to Keep Guns off Campus has helped stop campus carry legislation in 18 states, and are the only national organization of its kind tasked to protect higher educational institutions and the communities they serve. Following the mass shootings at Virginia Tech in 2007 (32 students and faculty killed and 15 wounded) and Northern Illinois University in 2008 (5 students killed and 16 wounded), the gun lobby embarked on an opportunistically motivated campaign within state legislatures around the is pushing legislation that would prohibit colleges and universities from adopting policies that regulate firearms on campus. The gun lobby’s proposed legislation would preempt an academic institution’s current policies restricting firearms on campus and allow students to possess and carry concealed handguns – in classrooms, at sporting events, and other school activities – and to keep guns in their dormitory rooms. The gun lobby’s legislation would not stop college shootings: allowing guns on campus could, in fact, make mass shootings even worse. See list of states where legislation has been introduced, defeated or signed into law in our STATE LEGISLATION section. For the last seven years, The Campaign to Keep Guns Off Campus has urged colleges and universities across the country to band together to oppose the gun lobby’s agenda to push guns into college campuses by signing onto a resolution that opposes legislation that would mandate that colleges and universities allow students to carry concealed handguns on campus. The list of colleges and universities signing the resolution will be provided to lawmakers in states where legislation is pending as a way of showing the educational community’s opposition to such legislation. As of December 14, 2015 the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), over 420 individual colleges and universities in 42 states and an additional 48 college presidents have signed the resolution. Click here to view list. We regret the loss of life in any school shooting. Together we can work to make our campuses safer, and protect students, faculty, staff and the community.

#### The AC ruptures the mindset of guns as necessary for self-defense—people are no longer constantly reminded of guns as a means of solving problems.

John Donohue 15, “Ban guns, end shootings? How evidence stacks up around the world”, CNN 27 Aug 2015, BE

In the wake of the massacre, the conservative federal government succeeded in implementing tough new gun control laws throughout the country. A large array of weapons were banned -- including the Glock semiautomatic handgun used in the Charleston shootings. The government also imposed a mandatory gun buy back that substantially reduced gun possession in Australia.¶ The effect was that both gun suicides and homicides (as well as total suicides and homicides)fell. In addition, the 1996 legislation made it a crime to use firearms in self-defense.¶ When I mention this to disbelieving NRA supporters they insist that crime must now be rampant in Australia. In fact, the Australian murder rate has fallen to close to one per 100,000 while the U.S. rate, thankfully lower than in the early 1990s, is still roughly at 4.5 per 100,000-- over four times as high. Moreover, robberies in Australia occur at only about half the rate of the U.S. (58 in Australia versus 113.1 per 100,000 in the U.S. in 2012).¶ How did Australia do it? Politically, it took a brave prime minister to face the rage of Australian gun interests.¶ John Howard wore a bullet-proof vest when he announced the proposed gun restrictions in June 1996. The deputy prime minister was hung in effigy. But Australia did not have a domestic gun industry to oppose the new measures so the will of the people was allowed to emerge. And today, support for the safer, gun-restricted Australia is so strong that going back would not be tolerated by the public.¶ That Australia hasn't had a mass shooting since 1996 is likely more than merely the result of the considerable reduction in guns -- it's certainly not the case that guns have disappeared altogether.¶ I suspect that the country has also experienced a cultural shift between the shock of the Port Arthur massacre and the removal of guns from every day life as they are no longer available for self-defense and they are simply less present throughout the country. Troubled individuals, in other words, are not constantly being reminded that guns are a means to address their alleged grievances to the extent that they were in the past, or continue to be in the US.

### Framing

#### Reclaiming academia requires we cease abstracting away from material conditions, and defend concrete policies that solve for harms.

Bryant 12 Levi Bryant (Professor of Philosophy at Collin College) “A Critique of the Academic Left” 2012 <https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2012/11/11/underpants-gnomes-a-critique-of-the-academic-left/> JW

Unfortunately, the academic left falls prey to its own form of abstraction. It’s good at carrying out critiques that denounce various social formations, yet very poor at proposing any sort of realistic constructions of alternatives. This because it thinks abstractly in its own way, ignor[es]ing how networks, assemblages, structures, or regimes of attraction would have to be remade to create a workable alternative. Here I’m reminded by the “underpants gnomes” depicted in South Park: The underpants gnomes have a plan for achieving profit that goes like this: Phase 1: Collect Underpants Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Profit! They even have a catchy song to go with their work: Well this is sadly how it often is with the academic left. Our plan seems to be as follows: Phase 1: Ultra-Radical Critique Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Revolution and complete social transformation! Our problem is that we seem perpetually stuck at phase 1 without ever explaining what is to be done at phase 2. Often the critiques articulated at phase 1 are right, but there are nonetheless all sorts of problems with those critiques nonetheless. In order to reach phase 3, we have to produce new collectives. In order for new collectives to be produced, people need to be able to hear and understand the critiques developed at phase 1. Yet this is where everything begins to fall apart. Even though these critiques are often right, we express [critiques] them in ways that only an academic with a PhD in critical theory and post-structural theory can understand. How exactly is Adorno to produce an effect in the world if only PhD’s in the humanities can understand him? Who are these things for? We seem to always ignore these things and then look down our noses with disdain at the Naomi Kleins and David Graebers of the world. To make matters worse, we publish our work in expensive academic journals that only universities can afford, with presses that don’t have a wide distribution, and give our talks at expensive hotels at academic conferences attended only by other academics. Again, who are these things for? Is it an accident that so many activists look away from these things with contempt, thinking their more about an academic industry and tenure, than producing change in the world? If a tree falls in a forest and no one is there to hear it, it doesn’t make a sound! Seriously dudes and dudettes, what are you doing? But finally, and worst of all, us Marxists and anarchists all too often act like assholes. We denounce others, we condemn them, we berate them for not engaging with the questions we want to engage with, and we vilify them when they don’t embrace every bit of the doxa that we endorse. We are every bit as off-putting and unpleasant as the fundamentalist minister or the priest of the inquisition (have people yet understood that Deleuze and Guattari’s Anti-Oedipus was a critique of the French communist party system and the Stalinist party system, and the horrific passions that arise out of parties and identifications in general?). This type of “revolutionary” is the greatest friend of the reactionary and capitalist because they do more to drive people into the embrace of reigning ideology than to undermine reigning ideology. These are the people that keep Rush Limbaugh in business. Well done! But this isn’t where our most serious shortcomings lie. Our most serious shortcomings are to be found at phase 2. We almost never make concrete proposals for how things ought to be restructured, for what new material infrastructures and semiotic fields need to be produced, and when we do, our critique-intoxicated cynics and skeptics immediately jump in with an analysis of all the ways in which these things contain dirty secrets, ugly motives, and are doomed to fail. How, I wonder, are we to do anything at all when we have no concrete proposals? We live on a planet of 6 billion people. These 6 billion people are dependent on a certain network of production and distribution to meet the needs of their consumption. That network of production and distribution does involve the extraction of resources, the production of food, the maintenance of paths of transit and communication, the disposal of waste, the building of shelters, the distribution of medicines, etc., etc., etc.

### Framework (2:12)

#### Excessive abstraction entrenches dominant power structures which causes oppression and rips ideal theory of its normative value.

Mills 5 Charles W. Mills (John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy) ““Ideal Theory” as Ideology” Hypatia vol. 20, no. 3 (Summer 2005) JW

#### Now **what distinguishes ideal theory is not merely** the **use of ideals**, since obviously nonideal theory can and will use ideals also (certainly it will appeal to the moral ideals, if it may be more dubious about the value of invoking idealized human capacities). What distinguishes ideal theory **is the reliance on idealization to the exclusion**, or at least marginalization, **of the actual**. As O’Neill emphasizes, this is not a necessary corollary of the operation of abstraction itself, since one can have abstractions of the ideal-as-descriptive-model type that abstract without idealizing. But **ideal theory** either tacitly **represents the actual as a** simple **deviation from the ideal, not worth theorizing in its own right**, or claims that starting from the ideal is at least the best way of realizing it. Ideal theory as an approach will then utilize as its basic apparatus some or all of the following concepts and assumptions (there is necessarily a certain overlap in the list, since they all intersect with one another): **An idealized social ontology**. Moral theory deals with **the normative**, but it **cannot avoid some characterization of the human beings who make up the society**, and whose interactions with one another are its subject. So some overt or tacit social ontology has to be presupposed. An idealized social ontology of **the modern type** (as against, say, a Platonic or Aristotelian type) **will typically assume the abstract and** undifferentiated **equal atomic individuals** of classical liberalism. Thus **it will abstract away from relations of structural domination, exploitation, coercion, and oppression, which in reality**, of course, **will profoundly shape the ontology of those same individuals, locating them in superior and inferior positions in social hierarchies of various kinds**. • Idealized capacities. The human agents as visualized in the theory will also often have completely unrealistic capacities attributed to them—unrealistic even for the privileged minority, let alone those subordinated in different ways, who would not have had an equal opportunity for their natural capacities to develop, and who would in fact typically be disabled in crucial respects. • Silence on oppression. Almost **by defi nition, it follows from** the focus of **ideal theory that** little or **nothing will be said on actual historic oppression and its legacy** in the present, **or current ongoing oppression**, though these may be gestured at in a vague or promissory way (as something to be dealt with later). Correspondingly, **the ways in which systematic oppression is likely to shape the basic social institutions** (as well as the humans in those institutions) **will not be part of the theory’s concern**, and this will manifest itself in the absence of ideal-as-descriptive-model concepts that would provide the necessary macroand micro-mapping of that oppression, and that are requisite for understanding its reproductive dynamic. • Ideal social institutions. Fundamental social institutions such as the family, the economic structure, the legal system, will therefore be conceptualized in ideal-as-idealized-model terms, with little or no sense of how their actual workings may systematically disadvantage women, the poor, and racial minorities. • An idealized cognitive sphere. Separate from, and in addition to, the idealization of human capacities, what could be termed **an idealized cognitive sphere will** also **be presupposed**. In other words, as a corollary of the general ignoring of oppression, **the consequences of oppression for** f the social cognition of these agents, both the advantaged and **the disadvantaged, will** typically **not be recognized**, let alone theorized. A general **social transparency will be presumed**, with cognitive obstacles minimized as limited to biases of self-interest or the intrinsic difficulties of understanding the world, and little or **no attention paid to the distinctive role of hegemonic ideologies** and group-specifi c experience **in**

#### Ethical frameworks that abstract away from concrete social conditions are violently appropriated – ethics that can be conscious of current deficits in society are key to overcome oppression

Butler 5, Judith. *Giving an Account of Oneself.* Fordham University Press. 2005. NP 10/11/15.

I would like to begin by considering how it might be possible to pose the question of moral philosophy, a question that has to do with conduct and, hence, with doing, within a contemporary social frame. To pose this question in this way is already to admit to a prior thesis, namely, that moral questions not only emerge in the context of social relations, but that the form [of] these questions take changes according to context, and even that context, in some sense, inheres in the form of the question. In Problems of Moral Philosophy, a set of lectures given in the summer of 1963, Adorno writes, ‘‘We can probably say that moral questions have always arisen when moral norms of behaviour have ceased to be self-evident and unquestioned in the life of a community.’’1 In a way, this claim seems to give an account of the conditions under which moral questions arise, but Adorno further specifies the account. There he offers a brief critique of Max Scheler, who laments the Zersetzung of ethical ideas, by which he means the destruction of a common and collective ethical ethos. 3 4 An Account of Oneself Adorno refuses to mourn this loss, worrying that the collective ethos is invariably a conservative one, which postulates a false unity that attempts to suppress the difficulty and discontinuity existing within any contemporary ethos. It is not that there was once a unity that subsequently has come apart, only that there was once an idealiza- tion, indeed, a nationalism, that is no longer credible, and ought not to be. As a result, Adorno cautions against the recourse to ethics as a certain kind of repression and violence. He writes: nothing is more degenerate than the kind of ethics or morality that survives in the shape of collective ideas even after the World Spirit has ceased to inhabit them—to use the Hegelian expression as a kind of shorthand. Once the state of human consciousness and the state of social forces of production have abandoned these collective ideas, these ideas acquire repressive and violent qualities. And what forces philosophy into the kind of reflections that we are expressing here is the element of compulsion which is to be found in traditional customs; it is this violence and evil that brings these customs [Sitten] into conflict with morality [Sittlichkeit]—and not the decline of morals of the kind lamented by the theoreticians of decadence. (PMP, 17) In the first instance, Adorno makes the claim that moral questions arise only when the collective ethos has ceased to hold sway. This implies that moral questions do not have to arise on the basis of a commonly accepted ethos to qualify as such; indeed, there seems to be a tension between ethos and morality, such that a waning of the former is the condition for the waxing of the latter. In the second instance, he makes clear that although the collective ethos is no longer shared—indeed, precisely because the collective ethos, which must now be herded by quotation marks, is not commonly shared—it can impose its claim to commonality only through violent means. In this sense, the collective ethos instrumentalizes violence to maintain the appearance of its collectivity. Moreover, this ethos becomes violence only once it has become an anachronism. What is strange historically—and temporally—about this form of ethical vi- olence is that although the collective ethos has become anachronistic, it has not become past; it insists itself into the present as an anachro- nism. The ethos refuses to become past, and violence is the way in which it imposes itself upon the present. Indeed, it not only imposes itself upon the present, but also seeks to eclipse the present—and this is precisely one of its violent effects. Adorno uses the term violence in relation to ethics in the context of claims about universality. He offers yet another formulation of the emergence of morality, which is always the emergence of certain kinds of moral inquiry, of moral questioning: ‘‘the social problem of the divergence between the universal interest and the particular inter- est, the interests of particular individuals, is what goes to make[s] up the problem of morality’’ (PMP, 19). What are the conditions under which this divergence takes place? He refers to a situation in which ‘‘the universal’’ fails to agree with or include the individual and the claim of universality itself ignores the ‘‘rights’’ of the individual. We can imagine, for instance, the imposition of governments on foreign countries in the name of universal principles of democracy, where the imposition of the government effectively denies the rights of the population at issue to elect its own officials. We might, along these lines, think about President Bush’s proposal for the Palestinian Au- thority or his efforts to replace the government in Iraq. In these instances, to use Adorno’s words, ‘‘the universal . . . appears as some- thing violent and extraneous and has no substantial reality for human beings’’ (PMP, 19). Although Adorno sometimes moves abruptly be- tween ethics and morality, he prefers the term morality, echoed later in Minima Moralia, for his project and insists that any set of maxims or rules must be appropriable by individuals ‘‘in a living way’’ (PMP, 15). Whereas one might reserve ethics for the broad contours of these rules and maxims, or for the relation between selves that is implied by such rules, Adorno insists that an ethical norm that fails to offer An Account of Oneself 5 6 An Account of Oneself a way to live or that turns out, within existing social conditions, to be impossible to appropriate has to become subject to critical revi- sion (PMP, 19). If it ignores the existing social conditions, which are also the conditions under which any ethics might be appropriated, that ethos becomes violent.

Thus the standard is minimizing structural violence. To clarify, structural violence refers to social institutions, structures or systemic problems that disadvantage individuals.

Edmund and Bland 13 clarify the standard Debi S. Edmund and Patricia J. Bland. www.andvsa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/11f-Societal-Abuse-and-Oppression.pdf. Real Tools: Responding to Multi-Abuse Trauma. Alaska Network on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault. Societal Abuse, Oppression and Trauma.

Societal abuse is a form of active abuse that refers to the disadvantages an individual or group experiences as a result of unjust social structures (Benbow, 2009). Societal abuse is a root cause of most other types of abuse – including domestic violence and sexual assault – and covers a wide range of issues (WHO/INPEA, 2002). Examples of societal abuse include sexism, racism, heterosexism and other forms of oppression that grant variable human worth to individuals based on misconceptions about race or ethnic culture, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, socioeconomic background, recent immigration, military or other status. Manifestations of societal abuse may range from overt or covert discrimination and lack of accommodations to inadequate funding for social services, lack of access to health care, inadequate social policies to protect against abuses, and negative images and stereotypes in the media (Schwartz-Kenney et. al, 2001). On both the individual and group level, societal abuse also tends to include the denial of victims’ pain and suffering, as well as blaming victims for abuses committed against them**.** Societal abuse is perpetuated by society through **its** dominant culture and values**, or** by its tendency to accept abusive behavior toward marginalized groups (Schwartz-Kenney et. al, 2001). At its most extreme, societal abuse can take the form of human trafficking, forced dislocation and genocide. The trauma resulting from the societal abuse of oppressed groups can be passed from one generation to the next in the form of intergenerational grief and historical trauma.

Prefer the standard:

#### 1. Structural violence is a precondition to the instantiation of your ethical theory – we must undermine it to allow freedom

Duquette David A. Duquette (Professor of Philosophy St. Norton’s College) “Hegel: Social and Political Thought” Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy

According to Hegel, the relationship between self and otherness is the fundamental defining characteristic of human awareness and activity, being rooted as it is in the emotion of desire for objects as well as in the estrangement from those objects, which is part of the primordial human experience of the world. The otherness that consciousness experiences as a barrier to its goal is the external reality of the natural and social world, which prevents individual consciousness from becoming free and independent. However, that otherness cannot be abolished or destroyed, without destroying oneself, and so ideally there must be reconciliation between self and other such that consciousness can “universalize” itself through the other. In the relation of dominance and subservience between two consciousnesses, say lord and bondsman, the basic problem for consciousness is the overcoming of its otherness, or put positively, the achieving of integration with itself. The relation between lord and bondsman leads to a sort of provisional, incomplete resolution of the struggle for recognition between distinct consciousnesses.

2. Oppression harms equality since treatment isn’t merit based but rather arbitrary since things like race and citizenship which aren’t decided by individuals; means a) standards that allow oppression can’t provide binding rules since they apply to different individuals differently, b) inclusion is a prerequisite to correct application of abstract moral theories since people need to be considered moral equals to have moral standards apply to all.

#### *3. Preserving justice means including marginalized groups and rejecting structural violence.*

*Winter and Leighton 99 Deborah DuNann Winter and Dana C. Leighton. Winter: Psychologist that specializes in Social Psych, Counseling Psych, Historical and Contemporary Issues, Peace Psychology. Leighton: PhD graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Arkansas. Knowledgable in the fields of social psychology, peace psychology, and ustice and intergroup responses to transgressions of justice) (Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century. Pg 4-5)*

*Finally, to recogniz****e*** *the operation of structural violence forces us to ask questions about how and why we tolerate it, questions which often have painful answers for the privileged elite who unconsciously support it. A final question of this section is how and why we allow ourselves to be so oblivious to structural violence. Susan Opotow offers an intriguing set of answers, in her article Social Injustice. She argues that our normal perceptual/cognitive processes divide people into in-groups and out-groups. Those outside our group lie outside our scope of justice. Injustice that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to someone we love or know is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are invisible or irrelevant. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts to everyone, so we draw conceptual lines between those who are in and out of our moral circle. Those who fall outside are morally excluded, and become either invisible, or demeaned in some way so that we do not have to acknowledge the injustice they suffer. Moral exclusion is a human failing, but Opotow argues convincingly that it is an outcome of everyday social cognition. To reduce its nefarious effects, we must be vigilant in noticing and listening to oppressed, invisible, outsiders. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, communication, and appreciation of diversity.Like Opotow, all the authors in this section point out that structural violence is not inevitable if we become aware of its operation, and build systematic ways to mitigate its effects. Learning about structural violence may be discouraging, overwhelming, or maddening, but these papers encourage[s] us to step beyond guilt and anger, and begin to think about how to reduce [it] structural violence. All the authors in this section note that the same structures (such as global communication and normal social cognition) which feed structural violence, can also be used to empower citizens to reduce it.*

Framing:

1. No act omission distinction for governments – they always face a choice between policies so omissions are not an option. This also means skep and permissibility are mitigatory defense; governments must take some action so deflationary arguments have no impact.
2. A. if a harm is foreseen than we are knowledgeable of it before we take an action, in taking that action we could choose not to act based on this consequence so we intend the effect by taking the action. B. Even if there is a distinction, we should weigh strength of link-intended harms don’t always come first. E.g. if I push over a friend to prevent him from being run over, I may sprain his ankle, but I still took a good action. C. It’s not resolvable – the government’s made up of a composite of actors with different intentions D. Epistemically inaccessible – we don’t know what other people are thinking., E. It’s a gateway to accessing any impact – arguments about why handgun bans are bad entail some assumption handguns *will* be banned. F. The affirmative debater fiats a policy, not a mindset, which means I defend the *action* of banning handguns which relates to consequences, not intentions.

### Underview

#### The affirmative debater may read 1ar theory and metatheory – this ensures theory’s reciprocal since otherwise only neg gets specific, responsive interps, which kills fairness since they have a greater number of paths to the ballot. Metatheory ensures I can engage the theoretical layer.

1. Neg may not read arguments that claim that aff may not read 1ar theory, that all aff theory interpretations must be in the AC, or that you evaluate the theory debate after the 2nr. This kills fairness – neg will be unfair, but I can’ t be responsive in the 1ar, and each argument about why I can’t read theory becomes a functional NIB since the substance debate will be skewed. Evaluating after the 2nr leaves massive time-skew since I can’t rebuild my arguments, and they’ll win off blatantly untrue claims, so I can never check back unfair strategies.

#### Representations focus prevents meaningful dialogue on the institutional structures that cause oppression-instead focus on a material view of social change.

Giroux 6 Henry “Dirty Democracy and State of Terrorism” Comparative Studies of South Asia 163-177 2006

Abstracted from the ideal of public commitment, **the new authoritarianism represents a** political and economic practice and **form of militarism that loosen the connections among substantive democracy**, critical agency, **and critical education. In opposition** to the rising tide of authoritarianism, **educators** across the globe **must make a case for linking learning to progressive social change** while struggling to pluralize and critically engage the diverse sites where public pedagogy takes place. In part, this suggests forming alliances that can make sure every sphere of social life is recognized as an important site of the political, social, and cultural struggle that is so crucial to any attempt to forge the knowledge, identifications, effective investments, and social relations that constitute political subjects and social agents capable of energizing and spreading the basis for a substantive global democracy. **Such circumstances require** that **pedagogy be embraced as a moral and political practice**, one that is directive and not dogmatic, an outgrowth of struggles designed **to resist the increasing depoliticization of political culture that is the hallmark of the current Bush revolution. Education is the terrain where consciousness is shaped**, needs are constructed, **and the capacity for** individual self-reflection and **broad social change is nurtured** and produced. Education has assumed an unparalleled significance in shaping the language, values, and ideologies that legitimize the structures and organizations that support the imperatives of global capitalism. Efforts to reduce it to a technique or methodology set aside, education remains a crucial site for the production and struggle over those pedagogical and political conditions that provide the possibilities for people to develop forms of agency that enable them individually and collectively to intervene in the processes through which the material relations of power shape the meaning and practices of their everyday lives. Within the current historical context, struggles over power take on a symbolic and discursive as well as a material and institutional form. The struggle over education is about more than the struggle over meaning and identity; it is also about how meaning, knowledge, and values are produced, authorized, and made operational within economic and structural relations of power. Education is not at odds with politics; it is an important and crucial element in any definition of the political and offers not only the theoretical tools for a systematic critique of authoritarianism but also a language of possibility for creating actual movements for democratic social change and a new biopolitics that affirms life rather than death, shared responsibility rather than shared fears, and engaged citizenship rather than the stripped-down values of consumerism. At stake here is combining symbolic forms and processes conducive to democratization with broader social contexts and the institutional formations of power itself. **The key point** here **is to** understand and **engage educational** and pedagogical **practices from the point of** view of **how they are bound up *with larger relations of power. Educators****, students, and parents* ***need to be clearer about how power works*** *through and in texts, representations, and discourses,* ***while*** *at the same time* ***recognizing that power*** *cannot be limited* ***to the study of representations and discourses,*** *even at the level of public policy.* ***Changing consciousness is not the same as altering the*** *institutional basis of oppression; at the same time, institutional reform cannot take place without a change in consciousness capable of recognizing not only injustice but also the very possibility for reform, the capacity to reinvent the conditions [End Page 176] and practices that make a more just future possible. In addition, it is crucial to raise questions about the relationship between pedagogy and civic culture, on the one hand, and what it takes for individuals and social groups to believe that they have any responsibility whatsoever even to address the realities of class, race, gender, and other specific forms of domination, on the other hand. For too long, the progressives have ignored that the strategic dimension of politics is inextricably connected to questions of critical education and pedagogy, to what it means to acknowledge that education is always tangled up with power, ideologies, values, and the acquisition of both particular forms of agency and specific visions of the future.*

#### Solutions to critical issues must be discussed through pragmatic approaches within hegemonic power structures.

Kapoor 8, 2008 (Ilan, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, “The Postcolonial Politics of Development,” p. 138-139)

There are perhaps several other social movement campaigns that could be cited as examples of a ‘hybridizing strategy’.5 But what emerges as important from the Chipko and NBA campaigns is the way in which they treat laws and policies, institutional practices, and ideological apparatuses as deconstructible. That is, they refuse to take dominant authority at face value, and proceed to reveal its contingencies. Sometimes, they expose what the hegemon is trying to disavow or hide (exclusion of affected communities in project design and implementation, faulty information gathering and dissemination). Sometimes, they problematize dominant or naturalized truths (‘development = unlimited economic growth = capitalism’, ‘big is better’, ‘technology can save the environment’). In either case, by contesting, publicizing, and politicizing accepted or hidden truths, they hybridize power, challenging its smugness and triumphalism, revealing its impurities. They show power to be, literally and figuratively, a bastard. While speaking truth to power, a hybridizing strategy also [it] exploits the instabilities of power. In part, this involves showing up and taking advantage of the equivocations of power — conflicting laws, contradictory policies, unfulfilled promises. A lot has to do here with publicly shaming the hegemon, forcing it to remedy injustices and live up to stated commitments in a more accountable and transparent manner. And, in part, this involves nurturing or manipulating the splits and strains within institutions. Such maneuvering can take the form of cultivating allies, forging alliances, or throwing doubt on prevailing orthodoxy. Note, lastly, the way in which a hybridizing strategy works with the dominant discourse. This reflects the negotiative aspect of Bhabha’s performativity. The strategy may outwit the hegemon, but it does so from the interstices of the hegemony. The master may be paralyzed, but his paralysis is induced using his own poison/medicine. It is for this reason that cultivating allies in the adversarial camp is possible: when you speak their language and appeal to their own ethical horizons, you are building a modicum of common ground. It is for this reason also that the master cannot easily dismiss or crush you. Observing his rules and playing [their] his game makes it difficult for him not to take you seriously or grant you a certain legitimacy. The use of non-violent tactics may be crucial in this regard: state repression is easily justified against violent adversaries, but it is vulnerable to public criticism when used against non-violence. Thus, the fact that Chipko and the NBA deployed civil disobedience — pioneered, it must be pointed out, by the ‘father of the nation’ (i.e. Gandhi) — made it difficult for the state to quash them or deflect their claims.

# 1ar Expansion

## Links

### Apocalyptic Justifications

#### Apocalyptic justifications for gun ownership are self-fulfilling prophecies and fuel the military industrial complex

Broderick 13, Rick. Our very own settler problem: America’s Culture-of-Gun-Deaths. www.tcdailyplanet.net/our-very-own-settler-problem-america-s-culture-death/ January 14, 2013. NP.

This boar’s nest is faithfully nurtured by a shadowy web of far right/Christian right media outlets few of us in the daylight world ever encounter. These are the evangelical TV networks, hate-talk radio shows, websites, and more that feed apocalyptic fantasies. The secular versions of this ceaseless propaganda ci**te** fringe economists prophesizing a hyperinflation sure to trigger the collapse of American society. That collapse, according to this scenario, will send zombie hordes of black people, immigrants, liberals, and assorted other “looters” and “moochers” out into the country to prey upon isolated homesteads, so better stock up on guns, ammo, gold coins, and survivalist gear, all of which just happen to be available from our advertisers. Similar nonsense is peddled by the right-wing evangelical media, only there, in addition to buying gold and survivalist gear you are urged to purchase special bibles or sign up to make monthly payments to be included in prayer sessions or for other legerdemain that will keep you safe during the coming End Times. In some cases, both the secular and evangelical version of these delusions hold that the collapse of American society has already taken place, we just aren’t hearing about it because the “lamestream media” is in cahoots with Muslim jihadists or the U.N. One World Government crowd or – you name the bad guys in your favorite conspiracy theory. How widespread are these delusions? Hard to say. But one thing is certain: however small a percentage of the general population, the folks who cling to these apocalyptic fantasies tend also to be heavily armed – and beyond reason. The recent outburst by wingnut radio talk show host, Alex Jones on the Piers Morgan show is a good example of why we have what we might think of as our very own “settler problem” in the U.S., similar to the one Israel faces in the Occupied Territories. For reasons of both commercial and political expediency, we have allowed to develop in our midst a sizable contingent of armed fanatics, some of whom will resist – violently – any effort to keep military-style weapons out of the hands of civilians. At the same time, no even semi-organized society is going to continue to tolerate repeated massacres of schoolchildren, movie-goers, shoppers at the local mall, or attendees at synagogues, churches or mosques without taking effective action to protect people simply to appease a tiny minority of extremists. That means change is coming to the American gun culture. But that also means for some American citizens, the truculent death wish embodied in the slogan “You’ll take my gun from me when you pry my cold, dead fingers from around the barrel” may very well turn out to be a blood-drenched, self-fulfilling prophecy.

#### Using fear as a tool of legitimizing gun violence is the consequence of hyper conservative media that popularizes guns to maximize profit – this masks central issues in the U.S. and normalizes violence

Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

Fear has become a public relations strategy used not only by the national security state but also by the gun industry. When you live in a country in which you are constantly bombarded by the assumption that the government is the enemy of democracy and you are told that nobody can be trusted, and the discourse of hate, particularly against Black youth, immigrants and gun control advocates, spews out daily from thousands of conservative radio stations and major TV networks, a climate of fear engulfs the country reinforcing the belief that gun ownership is the only notion of safety in which people can believe in order to live as free human beings. Under such circumstances, genuine fears and concerns for safety are undermined. These include the fear of poverty, lack of meaningful employment, the absence of decent health care, poor schools, police violence and the militarization of society, all of which further legitimate and fuel the machinery of insecurity, violence and death. Fear degenerates into willful ignorance while any semblance of rationality is erased, especially around the logic of gun control. As Adam Gopnik observes:

Gun control ends gun violence as surely an antibiotics end bacterial infections, as surely as vaccines end childhood measles - not perfectly and in every case, but overwhelmingly and everywhere that it's been taken seriously and tried at length. These lives can be saved. Kids continue to die en masse because one political party won't allow that to change, and the party won't allow it to change because of the irrational and often paranoid fixations that make the massacre of students and children an acceptable cost of fetishizing guns. (4)

President Obama is right in stating that the violence we see in the United States is "a political choice we make that allows this to happen." While taking aim at the gun lobby, especially the NRA, what Obama fails to address is that extreme violence is systemic in US society, has become the foundation of politics and must be understood within a broader historical, economic, cultural and political context. To be precise, politics has become an extension of violence driven by a culture of fear, cruelty and hatred legitimated by the politicians bought and sold by the gun lobby and other related militaristic interests. Moreover, violence is now treated as a sport, a pleasure-producing form of commerce, a source of major profits for the defense industries and a corrosive influence upon US democracy. And as such it is an expression of a deeper political and ethical corruption in US society. As Rich Broderick insists, US society "embraces a soulless free-market idolatry in which the value of everything, including human beings, is determined by the bottom line" and in doing so this market fundamentalism and its theater of cruelty and greed perpetuate a spectacle of violence fed by an echo chamber "of paranoia, racism, and apocalyptic fantasies rampant in the gun culture." (5) The lesson here is that the culture of violence cannot be abstracted from the business of violence.

### Fear & Gun Ownership = Safety

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Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

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### Focus on access to guns

#### Focus on accessibility of guns over gun culture mask systemic issues that perpetuate violence

Giroux 12, by Dr. Henry A. “Colorado Shooting Is About More Than Gun Culture,” www.dailykos.com/story/2012/07/23/1112894/--Colorado-Shooting-Is-About-More-Than-Gun-Culture-by-Dr-Henry-A-Giroux July 23, 2012. NP.

The current reporting about the recent tragic shooting in Aurora, Colorado, is very discouraging. **T**he media response to the alleged murderous rampage by James Holmes largely focuses on the guns he used, the easy availability of the ammunition he stockpiled, the booby trapping of his apartment and the ways in which he meticulously prepared for the carnage he allegedly produced. This is a similar script we saw unfold after the massacres at Columbine high school; Virginia Tech; Fort Hood; the supermarket in Tucson, Arizona; and the more recent gang shootings in Chicago. Immediately following such events, there is the expected call for gun control, new legislation to limit the sale of assault rifles and a justifiable critique of the pernicious policies of the National Rifle Association. One consequence is that the American public is being inundated with figures about gun violence ranging from the fact that more than 84 people are killed daily with guns to the shocking statistic that there are more than 300,000 gun-related deaths annually. To bring home the deadly nature of firearms in America, Juan Cole has noted that in 2010 there were 8,775 murders by firearms in the US, while in Britain there were 638. These are startling figures, but they do not tell us enough about the cult and spectacle of violence in American society. Another emerging criticism is that neither President Obama nor Mitt Romney has spoken out about gun control in the aftermath of the Aurora shooting. Gun control matters, but it is only one factor in the culture of symbolic and institutional violence that has such a powerful grip on the everyday workings of American society. The issue of violence in America goes far beyond the issue of gun control, and in actuality, when removed from a broader narrative about violence in the United States, it can serve to deflect the most important questions that need to be raised.

Violence saturates our culture both domestically and in our approach to foreign policy. Domestically, violence weaves through the culture like a highly charged electric current burning everything in its path. Popular culture, extending from Hollywood films and sports thuggery to video games, embraces the spectacle of violence as the primary medium of entrainment. Brutal masculine authority and the celebration of violence it embraces have become the new norm in America. Representations of violence dominate the media and often parade before viewers less as an object of critique than as a for-profit spectacle, just as the language of violence now shapes our political discourse. The registers of violence now shape school zero-tolerance policies, a bulging prison-industrial complex and a growing militarization of local police forces. State violence wages its ghastly influence through a concept of permanent war, targeted assassinations, an assault on civil liberties and the use of drone technologies that justifies the killing of innocent civilians as collateral damage. Just as body counts increase in the United States, so do acts of violent barbarism take place abroad. Increasingly, we are inundated with stories about American soldiers committing horrendous acts of violence against civilians in Afghanistan, with the most recent being the murders committed by the self-named "kill team" and the slaughter of men, women and children allegedly by Staff Sgt. Robert Bales. The United States has become addicted to war and a war economy just as we increasingly have become addicted to building prisons and incarcerating minorities marginalized by class and race. And, moreover, we have become immune to the fact of such violence.

### Politicians shouldn’t talk about regulation

#### U.S. government’s refusal to acknowledge need for regulating handgun violence is caused by cowardice and economic incentives

Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

It may not be an exaggeration to claim that the US government has blood on its hands because of the refusal of Congress to rein in a gun lobby that produces a growing militarism that sanctions a love affair with the unbridled corporate institutions, financial interests and mass-produced cultures of violence. The Oregon community college shooting is the 41st school shooting this year while there have been 142 incidents of violence on school properties since 2012. Yet, the violence continues unchecked, all the while legitimated by the cowardly acts of politicians who refuse to enact legislation to curb the proliferation of guns or support measures as elementary as background checks - which 88 percent of the American people support - or for that matter, ban large-capacity ammunition magazines and assault rifles. In part, this cowardly refusal on the part of politicians is due to the fact that gun lobbyists pour huge amounts of money into the campaigns of politicians who support their interests. For example, in 2015, the gun lobby spent $5,697,429 while those supporting gun control paid out $867,601. In a New York Times op-ed, Gabrielle Giffords pointed out that the National Rifle Association (NRA) in the 2012 election cycle "spent around $25 million on contributions, lobbying and outside spending." (3) Outside money does more than corrupt politics; it is also responsible for people being shot and killed.

### Mental Illness -> Violence

#### Blaming gun violence on mental illness is an empirically inaccurate tools of the media to mask systemic issues

Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

In the face of mass shootings, the public relations disimagination machine goes into overdrive claiming that guns are not the problem, and that the causes of such violence can be largely attributed to people living with mentally illness. When in actuality, as two Vanderbilt University researchers, Dr. Jonathan Metzl and Kenneth T. MacLeish, publishing in the American Journal of Public Health, observed that:

Fewer than 6 percent of the 120,000 gun-related killings in the United States between 2001 and 2010 were perpetrated by people diagnosed with mental illness. Our research finds that across the board, the mentally ill are 60 to 120 percent more likely than the average person to be the victims of violent crime rather than the perpetrators.... There are 32,000 gun deaths in the United States on average every year, and people are far more likely to be shot by relatives, friends or acquaintances than they are by lone violent psychopaths. [(2)](http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us#a2)

### Supporting Gun Industry

#### **Support of the gun industry is tied to economic militarization which normalizes state violence and ignores underlying systemic oppression**

Giroux 15, Henry A. | Murder, Incorporated: Guns and the Growing Culture of Violence in the US. www.truth-out.org/news/item/33127-murder-incorporated-guns-and-the-growing-culture-of-violence-in-the-us October 7th, 2015. NP

Even worse, the firearms industry is pouring millions into recruiting and educational campaigns designed to both expose children to guns at an early age and to recruit them as lifelong gun enthusiasts. Reporting on such efforts for The New York Times, Mike McIntire writes: The industry's strategies include giving firearms, ammunition and cash to youth groups; weakening state restrictions on hunting by young children; marketing an affordable military-style rifle for "junior shooters" and sponsoring semiautomatic-handgun competitions for youths; and developing a target-shooting video game that promotes brand-name weapons, with links to the Web sites of their makers.... Newer initiatives by other organizations go further, seeking to introduce children to high-powered rifles and handguns while invoking the same rationale of those older, more traditional programs: that firearms can teach "life skills" like responsibility, ethics and citizenship. (10) As the United States moves from a welfare state to a warfare state, state violence becomes normalized. The United States' moral compass and its highest democratic ideals have begun to wither, and the institutions that were once designed to help people now serve to largely suppress them. Gun laws, social responsibility and a government responsive to its people matter. We must end the dominance of gun lobbyists, the reign of money-controlled politics, the proliferation of high levels of violence in popular culture and the ongoing militarization of US society. At the same time, it is crucial, as many in the movement for Black lives have stated, that we refuse to endorse the kind of gun control that criminalizes young people of color. Gun violence in the United States is inextricably tied to economic violence as when hedge fund managers invest heavily in companies that make high-powered automatic rifles, 44-40 Colt revolvers, laser scopes for semiautomatic handguns and expanded magazine clips. (11) The same mentality that trades in profits at the expense of human life gives the United States the shameful title of being the world's largest arms exporter. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "Washington sold 31% of all global imports during the 2010-2014 period." (12) This epidemic of violence connects the spreading of violence abroad with the violence waged at home. It also points to the violence reproduced by politicians who would rather support the military-industrial-gun complex and arms industries than address the most basic needs and social problems faced by Americans.

## Role of the ballot impacts

### Cap

#### Violence has a huge role in today’s neoliberal economy~

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

It is necessary to recognize that **ac**ts of extreme violence and cruelty do not represent merely an odd or marginal and private retreat into barbarism. On the contrary, warlike values and the social mindset they legitimate have become the primary currency of a market-driven culture, which takes as its model a Darwinian shark tank in which only the strong survive. At work in **the new hyper-social Darwinism** is a view of the other as the enemy; an all-too-quick willingness in the name of war to embrace the dehumanization of the other; and an only too-easy acceptance of violence, however extreme, as routine and normalized. As many theorists have observed, the production of extreme violence in its various incarnations is now a show and source of profit for Hollywood moguls, mainstream news, popular culture and the entertainment industry and a major market for the defense industries.(8)

This pedagogy of brutalizing hardness and dehumanization is also produced and circulated in schools, boot camps, prisons, and a host of other sites that now trade in violence and punishment for commercial purposes, or for the purpose of containing populations that are viewed as synonymous with public disorder. The mall, juvenile detention facilities, many public housing projects, privately owned apartment buildings and gated communities all embody a model of failed sociality and have come to resemble proto-military spaces in which the culture of violence and punishment becomes the primary order of politics, fodder for entertainment and an organizing principle for society. Even public school reform is now justified in the dehumanizing language of national security, which increasingly legitimates the transformation of schools into adjuncts of the surveillance and police state.[(9)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a8)

### Dehumanization

#### Military industrial complex leads to dehumanization

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

The history of atrocities committed by the United States in the name of war need not be repeated here, but some of these incidents have doubled in on themselves and fueled public outrage against the violence of war.[(7)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a7) One of the most famous was the My Lai massacre, which played a crucial role in mobilizing anti-war protests against the Vietnam War. Even dubious appeals to national defense and honor can provide no excuse for mass killings of civilians, rapes and other acts of destruction that completely lack any justifiable military objective. Not only does the alleged normative violence of war disguise the moral cowardice of the warmongers, it also demonizes the enemy and dehumanizes soldiers. It is this brutalizing psychology of desensitization, emotional hardness and the freezing of moral responsibility that is particularly crucial to understand, because it grows out of a formative culture in which war, violence and the dehumanization of others becomes routine, commonplace and removed from any sense of ethical accountability.

### Indiscriminate killing

#### Acceptance of the military industrial complex perpetuates violence and leads to indiscriminate killing

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

As the preferred "instrument of statecraft,"[(2)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a2) war and its intensifying production of violence cross borders, time, space and places. Seemingly without any measure of self-restraint, state-sponsored violence flows and regroups, contaminating both foreign and domestic policies. One consequence of the permanent warfare state is evident in the public revelations concerning a number of war crimes committed recently by US government forces. These include the indiscriminate killings of Afghan civilians by US drone aircraft; the barbaric murder of Afghan children and peasant farmers by American infantrymen infamously labeled as "the kill team";[(3)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a3)disclosures concerning four American Marines urinating on dead Taliban fighters; and the recent uncovering of photographs showing "more than a dozen soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division's Fourth Brigade Combat Team, along with some Afghan security forces, posing with the severed hands and legs of Taliban attackers in Zabul Province in 2010."[(4)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a4) And, shocking even for those acquainted with standard military combat, there is the case of Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, who "walked off a small combat outpost in Kandahar province and slaughtered 17 villagers, most of them women and children and later walked back to his base and turned himself in."[(5)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a5) Mind-numbing violence, war crimes and indiscriminate military attacks on civilians on the part of the US government are far from new, of course, and date back to infamous acts such as the air attacks on civilians in Dresden along with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II.[(6)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a6) Military spokespersons are typically quick to remind the American public that such practices are part of the price one pays for combat and are endemic to war itself.

### Kills Democracy

#### Gun culture cannibalizes American democracy – failure to focus on consequences destroys institutions

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

Gun culture now rules American values, if not also many of US domestic policies. The National Rifle Association is the emerging symbol of what America has come to represent, perfectly captured in T-shirts worn by its followers that brazenly display the messages "I hate welfare" and "If any would not work neither should he eat."[(21)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a21)The relationship Americans have to guns may be complicated, but the social costs are less nuanced and certainly more deadly. In a country with "90 guns for every 100 people," it comes as no surprise, as Gary Younge points out, that "more than 85 people a day are killed with guns and more than twice that number are injured with them."[(22)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a22) The merchants of death trade in a formative and material culture of violence that causes massive suffering and despair while detaching themselves from any sense of moral responsibility. Social costs are rarely considered, in spite of the endless trail of murders committed by the use of such weapons and largely inflicted on poor minorities. Violence has become not only more deadly, but flexible, seeping into a range of institutions, cannibalizing democratic values and merging crime and terror. As Jean and John Comaroff point out, under such circumstances a social order emerges that "appears ever more impossible to apprehend, violence appears ever more endemic, excessive and transgressive and police come, in the public imagination, to embody a nervous state under pressure."[(23)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a23) Public disorder becomes both a spectacle and an obsession and is reflected in advertising and other everyday venues - advertising can even "transform nightmare into desire.... [Yet] violence is never just a matter of the circulation of images. Its exercise, legitimate or otherwise, tends to have decidedly tangible objectives. And effects."[(24)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a24)

### Police violence/mass incarceration

#### The military industrial complex leads to indifference to police violence and mass incarceration

Giroux 12, Henry A. | Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life. www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life May 2, 2012. (Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University.)a NP.

In American society, the seductive power of the spectacle of violence is fed through a framework of fear, blame and humiliation that circulates widely in popular culture. The consequence is a culture marked by increasing levels of inequality, suffering and disposability. There is not only a "surplus of rage," but also a collapse of civility in which untold forms of violence, humiliation and degradation proliferate. Hyper-masculinity and the spectacle of a militarized culture now dominate American society - one in which civility collapses into rudeness, shouting and unchecked anger. What is unique at this historical conjuncture in the United States is that such public expression of hatred, violence and rage "no longer requires concealment but is comfortable in its forthrightness."[(30)](http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life#a30) How else to explain the support by the majority of Americans for state sanctioned torture, the public indifference to the mass incarceration of poor people of color, or the public silence in the face of police violence in public schools against children, even those in elementary schools? As war becomes the organizing principle of society, the ensuing effects of an intensifying culture of violence on a democratic civic culture are often deadly and invite anti-democratic tendencies that pave the way for authoritarianism.

### Prerequisite to Change

#### Normalization of violence perpetuates systemic oppression and prevents us from questioning the social conditions from which it emerges

Giroux 12, by Dr. Henry A. “Colorado Shooting Is About More Than Gun Culture,” www.dailykos.com/story/2012/07/23/1112894/--Colorado-Shooting-Is-About-More-Than-Gun-Culture-by-Dr-Henry-A-Giroux July 23, 2012. NP.

Violence in the United States is a commodity mined for profit, a practice that has become normalized and a spectacle that extends the limits of the pleasure quotient in ways that should be labeled as both pathological and dangerous. We are not just voyeurs to such horrors; we have become complicit and reliant on violence as a mediating force that increasingly shapes our daily experiences. The culture of violence makes it increasingly difficult to imagine pleasure in any other terms except through the relentless spectacle of gratuitous violence and cruelty, even as we mourn its tragic effects in everyday life when it emerges in horrifying ways such as the senseless killing in Colorado. Increasingly, institutions are organized for the production of violence such as schools, prisons, detention centers and our major economic institutions. Rather than promote democratic values, a respect for others and embrace social responsibility, they often function largely to humiliate, punish and demonize any vestige of social responsibility. Our political system is now run by a financial oligarchy that is comparable to what Alain Badiou calls a "regime of gangsters." And as he rightly argues, the message we get from the apostles of casino capitalism carries with it another form of social violence: "Privatize everything. Abolish help for the weak, the solitary, the sick and the unemployed. Abolish all aid for everyone except the banks. Don't look after the poor; let the elderly die. Reduce the wages of the poor, but reduce the taxes on the rich. Make everyone work until they are ninety. Only teach mathematics to traders, reading to big property-owners and history to on-duty ideologues. And the execution of these commands will in fact ruin the life of millions of people."(1) It is precisely this culture of cruelty that has spread throughout America that makes the larger public not merely susceptible to violence, but also luxuriates in its alleged pleasures. We are a country gripped in a survival of the fittest ethic and one consequence is not merely a form of hyper masculinity and a new-found indulgence in the pleasure of violence, but the toxic emergence of a formative culture in which matters of ethics, justice and social responsibility are absent from what it means to create the conditions for a citizenry able to hold power accountable, produce citizens capable of caring for others and offer the conditions for young and old alike to be able to think critically and act compassionately. Justice in the United States has taken a bad hit and its absence can be measured not only in the vast inequalities that characterize all facets of everyday life from the workings of the justice system to the limited access poor and middle-class people now have to decent health care, schools and social protections, but also in a government that separates economics from social costs while selling its power and resources to the highest bidder. America needs to talk more about how and why violence is so central to its national identity, what it might mean to address this educationally and tackle the necessity of understanding this collective pathology of violence not just through psychological and isolated personal narratives, but through the wider ideological and structural forces that both produce such violence and are sustained by it.(2) 1. Alain Badiou, "The Rebirth of History (London: Verso, 2012), p. 13.

Sorkin

### Racism

#### Increasing militarization of the United States increases police brutality and racism – dismantling the military industrial complex is key to solve these structural issues

Giroux 14. Henry A. Giroux, Henry A. Giroux currently holds the McMaster University Chair for Scholarship in the Public Interest in the English and Cultural Studies Department and the Paulo Freire Chair in Critical Pedagogy at The McMaster Institute for Innovation & Excellence in Teaching & Learning. He also is a Distinguished Visiting Professor at Ryerson University. His most recent books include Youth in Revolt: Reclaiming a Democratic Future (Paradigm 2013), America's Educational Deficit and the War on Youth (Monthly Review Press, 2013), 8-16-2014, "Henry A. Giroux: The Militarization of Racism and Neoliberal Violence," Truthout, http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/25660-the-militarization-of-racism-and-neoliberal-violence, accessed 1-23-2016. NP.

The recent killing of an unarmed 18-year-old African-American, Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri, by a white police officer has made visible how a kind of racist, military metaphysics now dominates American life. His subsequent demonization by the media only confirms its entrance into the public consciousness as a form of vicious entertainment. The police have been turned into soldiers who view the neighborhoods in which they operate as war zones. Outfitted with full riot gear, submachine guns, armored vehicles, and other lethal weapons imported from the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan, their mission is to assume battle-ready behavior. Is it any wonder that violence rather than painstaking, neighborhood police work and community outreach and engagement becomes the norm for dealing with alleged "criminals," especially at a time when more and more behaviors are being criminalized? But I want to introduce a caveat. I think it is a mistake to simply focus on the militarization of the police and their racist actions in addressing the killing of Michael Brown. What we are witnessing in this brutal killing and mobilization of state violence is symptomatic of the neoliberal, racist, punishing state emerging all over the world, with its encroaching machinery of social death. The neoliberal killing machine is on the march globally. The spectacle of neoliberal misery is too great to deny any more and the only mode of control left by corporate-controlled societies is violence, but a violence that is waged against the most disposable such as immigrant children, protesting youth, the unemployed, the new precariat and black youth. Neoliberal states can no longer justify and legitimate their exercise of ruthless power and its effects under casino capitalism. Given the fact that corporate power now floats above and beyond national boundaries, the financial elite can dispense with political concessions in order to pursue their toxic agendas. Moreover, as Slavoj Žižek argues "worldwide capitalismcan no longer sustain or tolerate . . . global equality. It is just too much." (1) Moreover, in the face of massive inequality, increasing poverty, the rise of the punishing state, and the attack on all public spheres, neoliberalism can no longer pass itself off as synonymous with democracy. The capitalist elite, whether they are hedge fund managers, the new billionaires from Silicon Valley, or the heads of banks and corporations, is no longer interested in ideology as their chief mode of legitimation. Force is now the arbiter of their power and ability to maintain control over the commanding institutions of American society. Finally, I think it is fair to say that they are too arrogant and indifferent to how the public feels. Neoliberal capitalism has nothing to do with democracy and this has become more and more evident among people, especially youth all over the globe. As Žižek has observed, "the link between democracy and capitalism has been broken." (2) Theimportant question of justice has been subordinated to the violence of unreason, to a market logic that divorces itself from social costs, and a ruling elite that has an allegiance to nothing but profit and will do anything to protect their interests. This is why I think it is dreadfully wrong to just talk about the militarization of local police forces without recognizing that the metaphor of "war zone" is apt for a global politics in which the social state and public spheres have been replaced by the machinery of finance, the militarization of entire societies not just the police, and the widespread use of punishment that extends from the prison to the schools to the streets. Some have rightly argued that these tactics have been going on in the black community for a long time and are not new. Police violence certainly has been going on for some time, but what is new is that the intensity of violence and the level of military-style machinery of death being employed is much more sophisticated and deadly. For instance, as Kevin Zeese and Margaret Flowers point out, the militarization of the police in the United States is a recent phenomenon that dates back to 1971. They write: The militarization of police is a more recent phenomenon [and marks] the rapid rise of Police Paramilitary Units (PPUs, informally SWAT teams) which are modeled after special operations teams in the military. PPUs did not exist anywhere until 1971when Los Angeles under the leadership of the infamous police chief Daryl Gates, formed the first one and used it for demolishing homes with tanks equipped with battering rams. By 2000, there were 30,000 police SWAT teams [and] by the late 1990s, 89% of police departments in cities of over 50,000 had PPUs, almost double the mid-80s figure; and in smaller towns of between 25,000 and 50,000 by 2007, 80% had a PPU quadrupling from 20% in the mid-80s. [Moreover,] SWAT teams were active with 45,000 deployments in 2007 compared to 3,000 in the early 80s. The most common use . . . was for serving drug search warrants where they were used 80% of the time, but they were also increasingly used for patrolling neighborhoods. (3) At the same time, the impact of the rapid militarization of local police forces on poor black communities is nothing short of terrifying and symptomatic of the violence that takes place in advanced genocidal states. For instance, according to a recent report entitled "Operation Ghetto Storm," produced by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, "police officers, security guards, or self-appointed vigilantes extra judicially killed at least 313 African-Americans in 2012. . . . This means a black person was killed by a security officer every 28 hours. The report suggests that "the real number could be much higher." (4) The emergence of the warrior cop and the surveillance state go hand in hand and are indicative not only of state sanctioned racism but also of the rise of an authoritarian society and the dismantling of civil liberties. Brutality mixed with attacks on freedom dissent, and peaceful protest harbors memories of past brutal regimes such as the dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. The events in Ferguson speak to a history of representation in both the United States and abroad that Americans have chosen to forget at their own risk. In spite of his generally right-wing political views, Rand Paul got it right in arguing that "When you couple this militarization of law enforcement with an erosion of civil liberties and due process that allows the police to become judge and jury - national security letters, no-knock searches, broad general warrants, pre-conviction forfeiture - we begin to have a very serious problem on our hands." What he does not name is the problem, as Danielle LaSusa has observed, which is a society that is not simply on the precipice of authoritarianism, but has fallen over the edge. Truly, as Hannah Arendt pointed out, we live in "dark times." You can obtain Henry A. Giroux's latest book, The Violence of Organized Forgetting: Thinking Beyond America's Disimagination Machine, with a contribution to Truthout. Click here now. Under the regime of neoliberalism, the circle of those considered disposable and subject to state violence is now expanding. The heavy hand of the state is not only racist; it is also part of an authoritarian mode of governance willing to do violence to anyone who threatens neoliberal capitalism, white Christian fundamentalism, and the power of the military-industrial-academic-surveillance state. The United States' embrace of murderous weapons to be used on enemies abroad has taken a new turn and now will be used on those considered disposable at home. As the police become more militarized, the weapons of death become more sophisticated and the legacy of killing civilians becomes both an element of domestic as well as foreign policy. Amid the growing intensity of state terrorism, violence becomes the DNA of a society that refuses to deal with larger structural issues such as massive inequality in wealth and power, a government that now unapologetically serves the rich and powerful corporate interests, and makes violence the organizing principle of governance. (5) The worldwide response to what is happening in Ferguson sheds a light on the racist and militarized nature of American society so as to make its claim to democracy seem both hypocritical and politically insipid. At the same time, such protests make visible what the artist Francisco Goya called the sleep of reason, a lapse in witnessing, attentiveness, and the failure of conscience, which lie at the heart of neoliberal's ongoing attempt to depoliticize the American public. Political life has come alive once again in the United States, moving away from its withdrawal into consumer fantasies and privatized obsessions. The time has come to recognize that Ferguson is not only about the violence and consolidation of white power and racism in one town; it is also symptomatic of white power and the deep-seated legacy of racism in the country as a whole, which goes along with what the United States has become under the intensifying politics of market fundamentalism, militarism and disposability. Ferguson prompts us to rethink the meaning of politics and to begin to think not about reform but a major restructuring of our values, institutions and notions of what a real democracy might look like. We need to live in a country in which we are alarmed rather than entertained by violence. It is time for the American people to unite around our shared fate as stakeholders in a radical democracy, rather than being united around our shared fears and the toxic glue of state terrorism and everyday violence. Ferguson points to some nefarious truths about our past and present. But the public response points in another more hopeful direction. What Ferguson has told us is that the political and moral imagination is still alive, thirsting for justice, and unwilling to let the dark clouds of authoritarianism put the lights out for good. But for that to happen we must move from moral outrage to collective struggles as part of a wider effort to dismantle **the** mass incarceration society, the surveillance state and the military-industrial-academic complex. How many more children, black youth, immigrants and others have to die before the struggle deepens?

# Position Interaction

## Constitutionality

#### Heller and McDonald DON’T apply to schools

Meloy 11, Ada. Winter 2011, "Legal Watch: Guns on Campus: What Are the Limits?," No Publication, http://www.acenet.edu/the-presidency/columns-and-features/Pages/Legal-Watch-Guns-on-Campus-What-Are-the-Limits.aspx, accessed 1-18-2016. NP 1/18/16.

First, colleges and universities must examine whether they are considered “sensitive” places. **In Heller and McDonald, the Supreme Court found that laws completely banning handguns in homes and neighborhoods are unconstitutional. However, the court left unchanged the longstanding prohibition on the possession of firearms in sensitive places such as schools and government buildings.**3 This limitation depends on what each state considers a “sensitive” place.

## Sentimentalism

#### People value communities and development of coalitions

Haidt 11, Jonathan. The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion. 2011. NP 1/3/16.

On day 6 of the study, Sherif let the Rattlers get close enough to the baseball field to hear that other boys—the Eagles—were using it, even though the Rattlers had claimed it as their field. The Rattlers begged the camp counselors to let them challenge the Eagles to a baseball game. As he had planned to do from the start, Sherif then arranged a weeklong tournament of sports competitions and camping skills. From that point forward, Sherif says, “performance in all activities which might now become competitive (tent pitching, baseball, etc.) was entered into with more zest and also with more efficiency.”19 Tribal behavior increased dramatically. Both sides created flags and hung them in contested territory. They destroyed each other’s flags, raided and vandalized each other’s bunks, called each other nasty names, made weapons (socks filled with rocks), and would often have come to blows had the counselors not intervened. We all recognize this portrait of boyhood. **The male mind appears to be innately tribal— that is, structured in advance of experience so that boys and men enjoy doing the sorts of things that lead to group cohesion and success in conflicts between groups** (including warfare).20 **The virtue of loyalty matters a great deal** to both sexes, though the objects of loyalty tend to be teams and coalitions for boys, in contrast to two-person relationships for girls.21

#### Resistance to oppressive social structures is an innate emotion of humans

Haidt 11, Jonathan. The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion. 2011. NP 1/3/16.

The Liberty/oppression foundation, I propose, evolved in response to the adaptive challenge of living in small groups with individuals who would, if given the chance, dominate, bully, and constrain others. The original triggers therefore include signs of attempted domination. Anything that suggests the aggressive, controlling behavior of an alpha male (or female) can trigger this form of righteous anger, which is sometimes called reactance. (That’s the feeling you get when an authority tells you you can’t do something, and you feel yourself wanting to do it even more strongly.35) But people don’t suffer oppression in private; the rise of a would-be dominator triggers a motivation to unite as equals with other oppressed individuals to resist, restrain, and in extreme cases kill the oppressor. Individuals who failed to detect signs of domination and respond to them with righteous and group-unifying anger faced the prospect of reduced access to food, mates, and all the other things that make individuals (and their genes) successful in the Darwinian sense.36 The Liberty foundation obviously operates in tension with the Authority foundation. We all recognize some kinds of authority as legitimate in some contexts, but we are also wary of those who claim to be leaders unless they have first earned our trust. We’re vigilant for signs that they’ve crossed over a line into self-aggrandizement and tyranny.37 The Liberty foundation supports the moral matrix of revolutionaries and “freedom fighters” everywhere. The American Declaration of Independence is a long enumeration of “repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of absolute Tyranny over these states.” The document begins with the claim that “all men are created equal” and ends with a stirring pledge of unity: “We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.” The French revolutionaries, similarly, had to call for fraternité and egalité if they were going to entice commoners to join them in their regicidal quest for liberté.

## Anti-Blackness

#### Gun violence disproportionately impact black communities – you focus on the wrong issue

DeFilippis and Hughes 15 Evan Defilippis (graduated from the University of Oklahoma with a triple degree in Economics, Political Science, and Psychology. He was the University of Oklahoma's valedictorian in 2012, he is one of the nation's few Harry S. Truman Scholars based on his commitment to public service, and is a David L. Boren Critical Languages scholar, fluent in Swahili, and dedicated to a career in African development. He worked on multiple poverty-reduction projects in Nairobi, Kenya, doing big data analysis for Innovations for Poverty Action. He will be attending Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School in the Fall.) and Devin Hughes (senior at the University of Oklahoma with degrees in Finance and Risk Management. He is a National Merit Scholar and Oklahoma Chess Champion, with numerous academic publications) “How America’s Lax Gun Laws Help Criminals and Cripple Minority Communities” Vice July 6 2015 <http://www.vice.com/read/how-americas-lax-gun-laws-help-mass-murderers-and-cripple-minority-communities-706> JW

And as federal prosecutors decide whether to file hate-crime charges against the shooter— 21-year-old white supremacist Dylann Roof, whose manifesto lays out his plans to start a "race war"—some gun-rights advocates have argued that new gun control laws would disproportionately hurt black Americans and other minorities, claiming that similar laws have disproportionately targeted these communities and contributed to the already-massive racial disparities in the US prison system. But these arguments also tend to ignore the devastating consequences that weak gun laws have had for minority communities. According to data from the Centers for Disease Control, black Americans are twice as likely as whites to be victims of gun homicide. According to a report from the Center for American Progress, in 2010, 65 percent of gun murder victims between the ages of 15 and 24 were black, despite making up just 13 percent of the population. Gun homicide is also the leading cause of death for black teens in the US, a group that also suffers gun injuries 10 times more frequently than their white counterparts. The numbers may help explain why an overwhelming majority of black Americans—75 percent according to a 2013 Washington Post/ABC News poll—support stronger gun control laws. Yet even in areas where local governments have enacted gun control measures, lax regulations elsewhere have sustained a robust network of unregulated private transactions that allow gun dealers to look the other way while supplying gangs and other criminals with a vast assortment of weapons. This network leaves a place like Chicago, which remains crippled by violence despite relatively strict gun laws, hard-pressed to keep weapons off the street—as this New York Times map illustrates, anybody in the city who wants a gun need only take a short drive outside Cook County to get to a jurisdiction with much weaker regulations. A similar situation has arisen in Maryland, which despite having some of the country's most stringent gun laws, has been plagued by violent crime in urban areas. Amid finger-pointing over the rioting that ravaged Baltimore earlier this year, it's worth pointing out that the majority of crime guns are trafficked in from outside the state. So while the gun policies Maryland has implemented—including a policy requiring individuals to pass a background check and obtain a permit prior to buying a firearm—have been shown to reliably reduce gun violence, neighboring states like Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Virginia have much looser requirements, making it easy for weapons to flow across the border. RELATED: Gun Control Will Not Save America from Racism This haphazard patchworks of state and local gun laws has enabled many private gun dealers to effectively exploit gang violence and crime to boost sales. Chuck's Gun Shop, for example, which operates just outside Chicago, is responsible for selling at least 1,300 crime guns since 2008, and one study found that 20 percent of all guns used in Chicago crimes recovered within a year of purchase came from the store, because existing gun laws allow the store to sell firearms to criminals who would undoubtedly fail a background check if it were required. The same is true for Realco, a Maryland gun shop on the outskirts of Washington, DC: Between 1992 and 2009, law enforcement agents from Maryland and DC traced 2,500 crime guns back to Realco, four times more than were traced to second most prolific crime-gun dealer in Maryland. The disastrous effects of these policies has overwhelmingly been borne by minority communities. In Chicago, for example, 76 percent of murder victims between 1991 and 2011 were black, 19 percent were Hispanic, and just 4 percent were white. The cause of these deaths was overwhelmingly gun violence. Across the country, the evidence suggests that weak gun laws not only play into the hands of mass murderers looking for the easiest way to commit atrocity, but also exacerbate the tragic, everyday violence that disproportionately cripples minority communities. The solution is not to pretend, as has become fashionable among gun advocates, that gun violence is simply the unavoidable cost our of constitutional freedoms, but to instead support commonsense policies of the sort implemented in nearly every other industrialized nation.

## Testimony

#### A navy seal HATES campus carry

Fernandez and Montgomery 15. Fernandez, Manny. Montgomery, Dave. Texas Lawmakers Pass a Bill Allowing Guns at Colleges. [www.nytimes.com/2015/06/03/us/texas-lawmakers-approve-bill-allowing-guns-on-campus.html?\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/03/us/texas-lawmakers-approve-bill-allowing-guns-on-campus.html?_r=1) NP 1/2/16.

**One of the most prominent opponents of** the **campus-carry** bill **was** an unlikely figure — **a former member of the Navy SEALs. Adm. William H. McRaven**, the **former commander of United States Special Operations force**s who directed the raid that killed Osama bin Laden, is now the chancellor of the 15-campus University of Texas System. Photo Adm. William H. McRaven, the chancellor of the University of Texas System, is an opponent of the campus-carry bill. Credit Marsha Miller/The University of Texas at Austin , via Associated Press “I’m a guy that loves my guns,” Admiral McRaven said. “I have all sorts of guns. I just don’t think bringing guns on campus is going to make us any safer. **If you’ve ever been shot at, which I have, then you have an appreciation for what a gun can do.”**

O/W – a) specificity – it’s about campus carry, not gun carrying in general, b) he’s impartial since he likes guns – but understands that they’re bad on campus, c) experience – he knows what it’s like to face someone with a gun, which is key since he has an intricate understanding of the implication of gun carrying, d) he helped killed Osama bin Ladin, so a ton of people recognize him as a hero since Bin Ladin is regarded as an awful person, *e) it’s recent – this means he has a better understanding of whether the policy is good or bad right now*, f) consensus – polls of people on campus show theydon’t want guns

Schwarz 15, Alan. A Bid for Guns on Campuses to Deter Rape. www.nytimes.com/2015/02/19/us/in-bid-to-allow-guns-on-campus-weapons-are-linked-to-fighting-sexual-assault.html?\_r=0 February 18, 2015. NP 1/2/16.

**Some surveys have estimated that a vast majority of college presidents and faculty members oppose allowing firearms on campus. Support was somewhat higher among students,** but **67 percent of men and 86 percent of women still disliked the concept.**

g) he was a former commander of operations which means he was considered a source of authority who was responsible to direct the actions of others, h) he overcame personal biases to accept what was good for the general populus

g) people on campus agree with him - students are afraid of guns on campus

Fernandez and Montgomery 15. Fernandez, Manny. Montgomery, Dave. Texas Lawmakers Pass a Bill Allowing Guns at Colleges. [www.nytimes.com/2015/06/03/us/texas-lawmakers-approve-bill-allowing-guns-on-campus.html?\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/03/us/texas-lawmakers-approve-bill-allowing-guns-on-campus.html?_r=1) NP 1/2/16.

“**I don’t think guns should be allowed**, because **that’s pretty scary,” said Sarah Wang, 18, a computer science major and sophomore** who stood near the tower. “**We’ve** already **seen** so **many instances where people get hurt because there are guns in schools.”**

## Polls

#### Polls of people on campus show they don’t want guns

Schwarz 15, Alan. A Bid for Guns on Campuses to Deter Rape. www.nytimes.com/2015/02/19/us/in-bid-to-allow-guns-on-campus-weapons-are-linked-to-fighting-sexual-assault.html?\_r=0 February 18, 2015. NP 1/2/16.

**Some surveys have estimated that a vast majority of college presidents and faculty members oppose allowing firearms on campus. Support was somewhat higher among students,** but **67 percent of men and 86 percent of women still disliked the concept.**

#### Outweighs on specificity – a) it’s about campus carry, not just handgun rights in general, b) people on campus are largely affected by campus carry, so their input is most valuable

#### This poll says the same thing – everyone hates campus carry

Isong and Morales 15. Isong, Sheila E. Morales, Jessica. Campuses and Guns A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention. genprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23093430/Campuses-and-Guns.pdf March 2015. (Isong is a Nigerian-American Policy Manager for Generation Progress, where her research focuses on higher education/student debt, voting rights, and gun violence prevention. She served as the legal and public policy advocate at the National Black Justice Coalition, where she proposed short- and long-range public policy initiatives that advanced civil rights enforcement inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. Jessica Morales is a Policy Advocate for Generation Progress. She is from the great state of Texas where she graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with her undergraduate degree in government and political communications.). NP 1/2/16.

There is clear evidence showing higher education communities do not support campus carry.55 In a recent study by Ball State University, 95 percent of college presidents who responded to the study oppose campus carry. In addition, presidents of 370 colleges and universities in 41 states have signed a pledge to keep guns off their campuses.56 This includes 240 four-year colleges and universities and 130 community colleges.57 The American Association of State Colleges and Universities also opposes allowing campus carry.58 Additionally, in a 2013 poll of faculty members at 15 randomly selected colleges in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin (three were chosen from each state), 94 percent opposed campus carry.59 “82 percent said they would feel less safe if faculty, students, and visitors were allowed to carry guns,” reported the Columbus Dispatch.

#### *People everywhere just really don’t want guns on campus*

*Kingkade, Tyler. Midwest College Students Strongly Oppose Guns On Campus: Survey. www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/12/students-guns-on-campus-survey\_n\_3915232.html 9/12/2013. NP 1/2/16.*

*A new Ball State University survey finds that a significant majority of college students at 15 Midwestern colleges oppose allowing guns on campus. Seventy-eight percent of students surveyed said they do not want concealed handguns allowed on campus and would not seek to obtain a permit if it were legal in their state. Researchers surveyed 1,649 undergraduates; their results were recently published in the Journal of American College Health. Fewer than one-fifth of students said they owned a firearm, and 79 percent said they wouldn't feel safe if faculty, students or visitors brought concealed handguns onto campus. So far this year, at least 19 state legislatures have introduced bills to allow concealed carry on campus in some capacity, with just two of those bills passing, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. Measures were introduced in five states this year to prohibit concealed carry on campus, but all failed. "The issue of allowing people to carry concealed weapons at universities and colleges around the U.S. has been raised several times in recent years," study co-author Jagdish Khubchandani, a Ball State community health education professor, said in a news release. "This is in spite of the fact that almost four of every five students are not in favor of allowing guns on campus." Students and college officials in Ball State's Indiana were certainly opposed to a proposal earlier this year to allow guns on campus. But college students in heavily conservative states like Texas and Georgia have also spoken out against laws to force concealed carry at their schools. After Arkansas enacted a law this year to allow colleges to permit guns on campus, many of the state's largest schools were quick to write rules against letting students and staff carry firearms to class. Americans of all ages split evenly in a January HuffPost/YouGov poll asking whether they believe guns should be allowed on campus. But a clear majority said that private colleges should be allowed to ban firearms even in states where it would otherwise be legal.*

## Kant

Extend **Zillman 15:** status quo laws permit guns on campus.

Extend **Giroux 15:** the current call for handgun for handguns enables the military industrial complex to permeate everyday life – colleges become warzones

1. Turns the NC– violence becomes the means of social relation which causes us to recede to the state of nature since individuals unilaterally assert their will over others, this outweighs since civil society’s a precondition to existence of rights, and there are infinite rights violation since nothing can be conclusively owned
2. Turn the NC – governments reaffirm values that guns solve problems which permits murder which is not-universalizeable since you can not will everyone kills everyone, which is impossible since people can not kill if they’re dead
3. Turns the NC – Kant requires we respect our own ability to rationally reflect and acknowledge other individuals since that’s the basis of our obligations, but gun culture replaces rational values with irrational ones

Extend **Debrabander 15:** guns in higher education reinforce control and prevent free discussion

1. Turns the NC – the state must act as an omnilateral will since it must consistently gain the consent of individuals, but prohibition of protest prevents consent to the existence of the state
2. Turns the NC – relationships between students and teachers are imbalanced and students and others are imbalanced since guns entail hierarchy. The powerful need to be regulated so they cannot rightfully abuse positions over those subject to them to maintain equal freedom. Coercion is when your circumstance requires adopting another’s purposes *because* of imbalanced positions, which guns on campus inherently entail, this outweighs – we only have property rights if there are no external restraints on the object
3. Absolute property constraints are absurd; not ever being subject to another’s purposes could be achieved by any restrictive state system, which means the violation is nonunique. **JULIUS[[2]](#footnote-2):** If there’s a compelling rationale for property, it’s that **property frees our pursuit of object-requiring ends from constraint by others’ choices.** I’ve just claimed that **this ideal** of independent purposiveness **is to be had by our all following laws that share out our access to resources on terms set independently of persons’ dispositions to grab or use those goods. When it comes to deciding which particular laws** to **follow** in **this spirit**, the imperative of **independence does not favor private property over any other detailed scheme of access to external means.**

Extend **Giroux 9:** collective struggle against militarization enables us to reclaim public spheres; we can imagine breaking down militarism which empowers people and creates long-term organizations against the military industrial complex

Extend **Giroux 15:** I solve by rupturing the military industrial complex by supporting gun control. You also concede that politicians aim to strike down gun restrictions to further their own means, so they use college students as means to an end.

Extend **Difillippis 15**: colleges aren’t magnets for mass-shootings, evidence disproves. *This outweighs on probability - A. Mass murderers have emotional connections to locations they target, so gun laws would have no implication, B. Many mass-shooters are suicidal, so would have no consideration for whether or not they died. C. It’s empirical evidence rather than pure speculation. D. Colleges have up-to-date security systems regardless; someone who just wanted to kill maximum number of people would go somewhere like a park where there isn’t centralized security.*

Extend **Hemenway and Solnick 15:** guns don’t promote safety – they’re rarely used for self-defense or to prevent sexual assault. *This outweighs on probability – A. Most assaults are carried out by someone you know, accessing a gun when assault’s unpredicted is difficult, while people will more likely carry a weapon when they know they will commit assault. B. Criminals are more experienced gun users since it occupies a larger amount of their time. C. It’s an empirical study which does empirical comparison between usage. And, it outweighs – A. Scope – criminal gun uses are more frequent. B. Magnitude – criminals are often effective at carrying out crimes with guns, whereas a gun very rarely decreases injury. C. Reversibility – targets for abuse can use things like pepper spray to defend themselves which are similarly effective, but there’s minimal action that can be taken when an armed assailant threatens a victim.*

Extend **Gordon et al 15:** campus carry silences the voices of minorities

1. Terminal defense to the NC – you have no uniqueness since minorities are denied the right to carry handguns now, it also turns case - establishing a system of reciprocal limits on external freedom requires that entitlement to external objects of choice equally binds all agents – e..g a government that granted one citizen the right to own a house would not be a real government, so people can have no right to handguns in the status quo

Extend **Kautzer:** carrying guns to class engenders problematic notions of self-defense that re-entrench racism

1. Current laws that grant right to guns aim to grant individuals coercive powers over others – vote aff to rectify power imbalances
2. The NC isn’t liberating – abstract rights for equality that don’t take into account social positions of individuals contradict reality and further racism; we are humans before we are debaters – any ethical theory must solve for current imbalances in power
3. T – stand your ground laws combined with the aff mean that handgun ownership intrinsically violates freedom of others by establishing extra-legal realms of domination, only the aff prevents unilateral assertions of power over others
4. The status quo reinforces the state’s view of individual relationships as beyond regulation – one individual can unilaterally impose their will on others in private spheres of domination – since the state is established as an omnilateral will that binds all, existence of unilateral actors that can determine the ends of others is contradictory

NC

Rationality must include intersubjectivity---we are agents both in terms of who we are, but also in terms of our relationship to and recognition of others. Deriving obligation from purely self-reflection fails: a. phenomenology---it requires stepping away from yourself in order to evaluate yourself, begging the question if you’re still you, b. ontology--- rational agents do not act in a vacuum, morality needs to be about how we act in relation to others, c. normativity---you can only become aware of yourself if you already understand who you are, this is circular which rips theory of its normative value, d. ontology--- not all agents have the capacity for practical reason, meaning that not all moral actions can be motivated internally. The logical consequence is that we must aim to create an ethical community in which there is mutual recognition – the military industrial complex, isolationism and racism prevent mutual recognition.

# Substance F/L

## Crime Debate

### Overview

Alcoholism on campus exacerbates likelihood guns will be used for assault, not protection

Defilippis 14. (Evan DeFilippis has degrees Economics, Political Science, and Psychology from the University of Oklahoma. He is a Truman Scholar, a David L. Boren Scholar, and was the university valedictorian in 2012.) Evan Defilippis, 6-7-2014, "Campus Gun Control Works- Why Guns and Schools Do Not Mix," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/campus-gun-control-works-why-guns-and-schools-do-not-mix/, accessed 1-29-2016

Thirty-one percent of college students meet the DSM-IV criteria for alcohol abuse, and alcohol is used in 95 percent of violent crimes, 90 percent of rapes, and 66 percent of suicides among college students. Alcohol consumption renders police officers, people trained to use firearms, unfit for duty, so what should we expect from students who lack the preparation and discipline of police officers? The most recent survey of firearm ownership on college campuses found that gun-owning students are more likely than non–gun owning students to engage in dangerous behavior such as binge drinking and, when inebriated, participate in activities that increase the risk of life-threatening injury to themselves and others. These include drunk driving, vandalism, and physical violence. Given excessive consumption of drugs and alcohol on campus, the best a college can do is take precautionary measures to minimize the chance that lapses in judgment and drug- or alcohol-induced impulsivity will become lethal in the presence of a firearm. The only way to do this is to prohibit or at least strictly control guns on campus. It is simply not possible for campus police to monitor every party to ensure that those possessing guns are sober enough to do so. In any case, gun control is practically required in light of court rulings that force universities to provide safe premises to residents and visitors. Universities can be held liable for criminal assault on school grounds and for negligence in connection with social life on campus. It should be obvious that the combination of alcohol abuse and firearms increases the potential for serious violence. After all, the archetypical “rational actor” is painfully sober. On a typical weekend, the average college student hardly fits the profile of a “good guy with a gun” advanced by gun advocates.

### A2 Sexual Assault/Rape

#### 1. Guns on campus make assault more likely

Watts 15, Shannon. More guns on campus is not the answer to sexual assault. www.msnbc.com/msnbc/more-guns-college-campuses-not-the-answer-sexual-assault 2.24.15. NP 1/2/15 Shannon Watts is the Founder of Moms Demand Action for Gun Sense in America, a nonpartisan group that supports common-sense gun reforms.

But if you ask the real experts – those who will be impacted by dangerous campus carry laws – 78% of students, 95% of college presidents and 89% of police chiefs agree that more guns on college campuses are not the answer to keeping women safe. That’s because campuses are rife with alcohol, drugs, and depression: a dangerous recipe that may be made deadly by adding guns to the mix. Indeed, research shows that alcohol is involved in most campus sexual assault, and alcohol leads to impaired judgment about gun use. However, our lawmakers either aren’t listening or don’t care about the opinions and wishes of those who campus carry would impact the most. They care more about what the NRA thinks of them than their own constituents. Make no mistake: it would be a big win for the NRA and gun manufacturers to force guns onto campus. Over the past few decades, more guns have been sold to fewer people, and the gun industry is desperate to broaden its market to include more women and young people. By lobbying for gun laws that erroneously claim to stop sexual assault, the NRA is that much closer to its goal of ensuring guns for everyone, anywhere, any time. “Campuses are rife with alcohol, drugs, and depression: a dangerous recipe that may be made deadly by adding guns to the mix.” SHANNON WATTS But women are not falling for the NRA’s false narrative that most predators are strangers jumping out of the bushes and attacking women. In fact, between 80% and 90% of sexual assaults at colleges involve acquaintances, not strangers. A professor at Florida’s Eckerd College summed it up succinctly during her recent testimony at a hearing on campus carry in Florida: “Proponents will tell you that allowing concealed carry will protect female students from sexual assault. I will point out the obvious; you’ll be arming the assailant

s, too.” As a mother of five children—three of whom will be away at college this fall—the issue of campus carry is very personal. Like any mom, my primary concern is for my children’s safety—especially when they’re away from home. The thought that my daughters could be surrounded by students making impulsive and sometimes dangerous decisions while carrying a firearm or be expected to defend themselves with a gun, is not something I am willing to accept. Speak up, parents—this is on us. Don’t allow the NRA to decide what’s best for our children. State legislatures should not force our schools to allow guns. They need to know voters – the people who pay their salaries – are paying attention and we demand they stop exploiting the campus sexual assault crisis to profit the gun lobby and gun manufacturers. The NRA is right that our daughters need protection; they need their parents to protect them from the NRA.

#### 2. ‘Good guys with guns’ aren’t deterring crimes on campus – your statistics are purely speculative - guns aren’t successfully used to fend off rapists – case studies show that enacting campus carry correlated with increased rape

Defillippis and Hughes 15. Evan Defilippis and Devin Hughes, 11-9-2015, , (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "The Numbers on Campus Carry Show Risks Outweigh Benefits," Trace, http://www.thetrace.org/2015/11/campus-carry-self-defense-accidental-shootings-research/, accessed 1-22-2016. NP

But the numbers tell a different story. A recent study by David Hemenway of Harvard examined data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and found that women almost never successfully fend off a would-be rapist with a firearm. Of the more than 300 cases of sexual assault in the NCVS data from 2007-11, not one was stopped by a firearm. A similar study examining NCVS data from 1992-2001 turned up only one case of defensive gun use out of 1,119 reported sexual assaults in the survey.

One examination of data from the Clery Act, which compiles information about crimes committed on or near college campuses, found that in Utah and Colorado crime rates actually increased in each state after campus carry was enacted. The study shows that, since carry legislation passed in Colorado, the rate of forcible rape increased by 25 percent in 2012 and 36 percent in 2013. In Utah, campus rape increased nearly 50 percent between 2012 and 2013. By contrast, sexual assaults nationwide have been decreasing each year by approximately 3 percent. To be sure, this data doesn’t prove that allowing guns at universities and colleges in Utah and Colorado caused those crime increases. But it does refute the idea that more good guys and gals with guns are deterring sexual criminals on campus.

### A2 Safety

#### 1. Easy access to guns on campus increases chance of suicide – this outweighs, it causes more deaths than mass shootings

Skorton and Altschuler 13. Skorton, David. Altschuler, Glenn. Do We Really Need More Guns On Campus? [www.forbes.com/sites/collegeprose/2013/02/21/guns-on-campus/](http://www.forbes.com/sites/collegeprose/2013/02/21/guns-on-campus/) NP 12/2/15.

Campuses are a risky environment for guns in other ways as well. We don’t need to put more firearms in the hands of college students, a cohort that includes emotionally volatile [people] young men and women and abusers of alcohol and drugs. How many accidental shootings will happen under the influence? How many disputes will turn deadly if a gun is nearby? Consider also an even more compelling fact: suicide is the second leading cause of death for college students (after accidents). According to the Harvard Injury Control Research Center, 85% of attempted suicides using guns are fatal, compared to only 2% of attempts by a far more common method, drug overdose. If guns are more readily available, many more suicide attempts will likely succeed. By all means, let’s get on with the national and state-level debate about how best to balance second-amendment rights with public safety. We applaud President Obama’s directive to scale up federally funded research on gun violence—research that for decades has been squelched by the political muscle of gun rights advocates. More research means better-informed choices. But meanwhile, let our colleges and universities set their own policies. We believe that the great majority will continue to prohibit guns, and our campus communities will be all the safer.

### A2 Good Guys w/ Guns

#### 1, This is just a myth - people do NOT have the training or skills necessary to stop crime with guns – they’re more likely to die or kill bystanders

Defillippis and Hughes 15. Evan Defilippis and Devin Hughes, 11-9-2015, , (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "The Numbers on Campus Carry Show Risks Outweigh Benefits," Trace, http://www.thetrace.org/2015/11/campus-carry-self-defense-accidental-shootings-research/, accessed 1-22-2016. NP

Gun advocates routinely argue that mass shooters are fixated on maximizing casualties, and thus target areas where they’re least likely to encounter armed resistance. By this logic, so-called gun-free zones are ripe targets for mayhem. GOP presidential candidate Donald Trump circuitously summarized this theory in the most recent Republican debate: “I feel that the gun-free zones… [are] target practice for the sickos and for the mentally ill.” The only way to stop this “feeding frenzy,” according to campus-carry advocates, is to make sure there are plenty of armed students and teachers to stop any bad guys with guns.

Yet the existing research shows that this faith in good guys with guns is misplaced. An FBI report detailing 160 active shooting incidents from 2000-2013 found that only one incident was stopped by a concealed carry permit holder, and he happened to be a Marine. (Four others were stopped by armed guards, and two more by off-duty police officers.) By comparison, 21 active shooters were stopped by unarmed citizens — good guys without guns. In several cases, a good guy with a gun has attempted to intervene and either been killed, injured, or nearly shot the wrong person.

Gun advocates might argue that the reason so few concealed carriers have intervened in active shootings comes down to bad luck: They just haven’t been in the right place at the right time; had they been, then surely more mass shootings would have been prevented. This line of argument is refuted by multiple controlled experiments designed to test how good guys with guns fare in dangerous situations. One of these analyses came from an independent study commissioned by the National Gun Victims Action Council (NGVAC). The study analyzed 77 participants of varying skill levels who went through three different self-defense scenarios. The results were harrowing. In the first scenario, 7 of the 77 participants shot an innocent bystander, and overall, in scenarios one and two, most of the participants, regardless of skill level, were killed. In the third scenario, where the suspect was not a threat, 23 percent of the participants fired anyway. As the NGVAC points out, none of the participants came close to the accuracy or judgement required to stop an active shooter or a criminal.Their dismal performance doesn’t come as a surprise to security and tactical experts, who in a recent article in The Nation warned that during an active shooting, an armed civilian without extensive training posed a greater security risk than a benefit. As David Chipman, a former ATF agent and member of a SWAT team, explained: “Training for a potentially deadly encounter meant, at a minimum, qualifying four times a year throughout my 25-year career. And this wasn’t just shooting paper — it meant doing extensive tactical exercises. And when I was on the SWAT team we had to undergo monthly tactical training.” This is a far cry from the four hours of classwork and paper target shooting practice required to get a concealed carry license in Florida and Texas, for instance. “The notion,“ Chipman said, “that you have a seal of approval just because you’re not a criminal — that you walk into a gun store and you’re ready for game-day — is ridiculous.”

#### 2. Guns don’t deter crime – they prevent police from responding to incidents

Isong and Morales 15. Isong, Sheila E. Morales, Jessica. Campuses and Guns A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention. genprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23093430/Campuses-and-Guns.pdf March 2015. (Isong is a Nigerian-American Policy Manager for Generation Progress, where her research focuses on higher education/student debt, voting rights, and gun violence prevention. She served as the legal and public policy advocate at the National Black Justice Coalition, where she proposed short- and long-range public policy initiatives that advanced civil rights enforcement inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. Jessica Morales is a Policy Advocate for Generation Progress. She is from the great state of Texas where she graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with her undergraduate degree in government and political communications.). NP 1/2/16.

The assumption that guns used defensively on college campuses would make the community safer is not necessarily true. A frequently cited study argued that millions of gun owners successfully use their weapons to defend themselves from criminals; however, recent research has proven this to be untrue.71 The study purported, for instance, that guns were used in selfdefense in 845,000 burglaries; however, reliable victimization surveys show that there were fewer than 1.3 million burglaries where someone was in the home at the time of the crime and only 33 percent of these had occupants who were not sleeping.72 The survey also suggests that 42 percent of households owned firearms at the time of the survey, so even if burglars We survivors do not think that it is a good idea to have guns on campus… and there is no evidence that a bill like [this] would do anything to stop a mass shooting. “ - Virginia Tech shooting ” survivor Colin Goddard 9 Center for American Progress | Factsheet Title 9 Generation Progress Campuses and Guns: A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention only rob homes of gun owners, and those gun owners use their weapons in self-defense every single time they are awake, the 845,0000 statistic is simply mathematically impossible.73 Guns as a means of protection has also been brought up recently in relation to alarming campus sexual assault statistics that indicate that 1 in 5 women and 1 in 16 men are sexually assaulted during their time in college.75 Some lawmakers around the country are pushing to arm college students with firearms in order to protect them against sexual assault. An example of this would be House Bill 1143 in Indiana, where state legislators are urging individuals to support the bill in order to decrease campus sexual assault.76 The bill would allow licensed gun owners to carry their weapons on public university campuses.77 If passed, the bill would affect 29 public campuses in Indiana.78 This piece of legislation has already received pushback from campus administrators around the state.79 A spokesperson for Indiana University Bloomington stated that “Indiana University has opposed allowing guns on camipus in the past and our position has not changed.”80 Purdue University, which already bans weapons on campus, remains steadfastly against legislation that would allow for campus carry.81 Purdue’s police chief has spoken out against the legislation, noting that if passed, it would negatively impact the dynamics of the campus community and complicate the ability of police to respond to situations in which multiple people could be armed.82 More importantly, legislation such as this would not necessarily stop a perpetrator from committing sexual violence on campus.83 In an American Journal of Public Health study, researchers interviewed 417 women, and only 7 percent had used a gun successfully in self-defense.84 Know Your IX, a national survivor-run, student-driven campaign to end campus sexual violence made it clear that gun lobbyists and lawmakers have built legislation based on the classic rape myth that a woman’s greatest threat is a stranger lurking in the bushes late at night.85 In actuality, women (and individuals of other genders) are most in danger while with someone they know.86 Know Your IX’s Dana Bolger and Alexandra Brodsky explain, “studies demonstrate that the vast majority of campus victims were raped by a partner, friend, or close acquaintance” and guns are the most commonly used weapon in the murders of intimate partners.87 More often than not, when a gun is in a home, the threat of violence against women by intimate partners appear to be more common than self-defense uses of guns by women.88

### A2 Mass Shootings

#### No – best studies prove this is straight false

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Central to Lott’s argument against gun-free zones is a 2000 study in which he claimed to find that the expansion of RTC laws reduces the number of people in those states killed or injured in multiple-victim shootings by a staggering 78 percent. Lott’s study, however, suffers from enormous flaws, including incorrect statistical modeling and dubious data-selection methodology.

In one example of statistical malpractice, Lott excludes many mass-shooting incidents in which the shooter was committing an additional felony (such as armed robbery) during the crime, despite the fact that felony-related mass murders account for 36 percent of the data set on which he bases the study. Lott’s explanation for doing so was an unjustified presumption that bystanders in crimes like robberies or drug deals will already “be engaged in unlawful activities that often require them to carry guns.” However, analysis of this claim reveals that 69 percent of the mass shootings excluded by Lott involved robberies committed in public locations (like convenience stores and fast-food restaurants) where the bystanders were innocent civilians. If RTC laws are to have any effect at all, then surely they would apply to such situations, making it unclear how Lott could choose to ignore them. When Lott’s research is compared to a more recent study using more appropriate statistical models and a wider range of available data, the beneficial effect of Right to Carry policy vanishes. The authors of a 2002 study, a trio with combined criminology and economics expertise, evaluated RTC laws in 25 states from 1977 to 1999, an expanded version of Lott’s analysis (which covered 23 states in that same time period). They concluded that “RTC laws have no effect on mass public shootings at all.”

2. T – they wouldn’t be deterred, they’d just buy better protective gear, e.g. bulletproof vests which would make it harder for police to stop them

3. Non-unique, if they *just* want to kill and this is a factor, they’ll choose something like a library or movie theater

4. Mass shooters don’t generally target based on gun laws in the targeted area – they target regions they have an emotional tie to

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Of the 39 shootings in the study that occurred in educational environments, 31 of the shooters had some relationship with the school (27 were current or former students). Out of 23 businesses with no pedestrian traffic (i.e., private offices rather than stores) where shootings occurred, 22 of the shooters were current or former employees. These shooters are overwhelmingly motivated by some grievance rather than a desire to maximize casualties, which makes it highly unlikely that a gun-free policy had any bearing on the choice of target.

#### 5. **Aff offense outweighs on probability – this is purely speculative**

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

At first glance, some mass shootings do appear to validate a central claim of gun advocates — namely, that killers strategically target gun-free zones because they expect weak resistance from unarmed civilians. But an analysis of the best available research points in the opposite direction: **There is no evidence that mass killers select locations based on gun policy, or that lawful gun owners have been able to intervene to stop these attacks. In** the **Aurora** case, **the shooter gave no indication** that **the theater’s gun-free policy played a part in** his **motives. His** personal **journal**, made public during his ongoing trial, **contains** **not even a** cursory **mention of gun-free zones or** the **consideration of armed civilians,** but instead details a more pressing concern about how to attack the “isolated, proximal, large” space: finding the right parking spot.

6. FBI study proves shooters target mostly on emotional connection to target

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Perhaps the most glaring flaw in the argument against gun-free zones, in the context of mass shootings, is its underlying assumption that shooters are rational actors. Lott himself admits that about half of criminals who commit mass shootings have received a “formal diagnosis of mental illness,” yet his model requires them to act precisely as we know they don’t: as hyperrational, calculating machines, intentionally seeking out gun-free environments for the sole purpose of maximizing causalities. In reality, many shooters target a location based on an emotional grievance or an attachment to a particular person or place. An FBI study of 160 active shootings (defined as a shooter actively attempting to kill people in a populated area, regardless of the amount of fatalities) between 2000 and 2013 — including the high-profile mass shootings in Tucson and Aurora — shows that of the shootings that occurred in commercial or educational areas, the shooter had some relationship with the area in 63 percent of the cases. This was the case on October 21, 2012, when a gunman barged into the Azana Day Salon in Brookfield, Wis., searching for his estranged wife, who had recently filed a restraining order against him. Despite the order, he still managed to purchase a firearm through an online source. The man murdered three people and wounded four others before finally turning the gun on himself.

### A2 Lott

#### Lott’s study is statistic malpractice – he randomly excludes **36%** of data on mass shootings – more robust analysis finds RTC laws have no impact on mass shootings

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Central to Lott’s argument against gun-free zones is a 2000 study in which he claimed to find that the expansion of RTC laws reduces the number of people in those states killed or injured in multiple-victim shootings by a staggering 78 percent. Lott’s study, however, suffers from enormous flaws, including incorrect statistical modeling and dubious data-selection methodology.

In one example of statistical malpractice, Lott excludes many mass-shooting incidents in which the shooter was committing an additional felony (such as armed robbery) during the crime, despite the fact that felony-related mass murders account for 36 percent of the data set on which he bases the study. Lott’s explanation for doing so was an unjustified presumption that bystanders in crimes like robberies or drug deals will already “be engaged in unlawful activities that often require them to carry guns.” However, analysis of this claim reveals that 69 percent of the mass shootings excluded by Lott involved robberies committed in public locations (like convenience stores and fast-food restaurants) where the bystanders were innocent civilians. If RTC laws are to have any effect at all, then surely they would apply to such situations, making it unclear how Lott could choose to ignore them. When Lott’s research is compared to a more recent study using more appropriate statistical models and a wider range of available data, the beneficial effect of **R**ight to Carry policy vanishes. The authors of a 2002 study, a trio with combined criminology and economics expertise, evaluated RTC laws in 25 states from 1977 to 1999, an expanded version of Lott’s analysis (which covered 23 states in that same time period). They concluded that “RTC laws have no effect on mass public shootings at all.”

#### Lott’s criticism of FBI data’s unfounded – he literally criticizes them for not accounting for ***knife***attacks in an analysis of mass shootings

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Lott and other gun advocates also frequently reference incidents that were rightfully excluded by the FBI authors because they bear no resemblance to an actual active-shooting situation. To buttress his case, **Lott maintains a highly selective list of incidents that**, as he explains, “**only include**s **cases where mass public shootings were stopped.”** But **this** **roster of prevented “mass public shootings” includes two knife attacks (neither of which had any fatalities),** **a Marine firing his gun in an empty parking lot**, several **robberies** (a type of incident Lott excludes from his statistical analysis), and, under “possible cases**,” the Tacoma Mall shooting, in which a permit holder confronted the shooter and was swiftly gunned down and subsequently paralyzed for life.**

#### Lott’s criticism of FBI studies is a straw man

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

In response to this report, Lott issued an error-filled analysis accusing the FBI of playing politics and manufacturing an upward trend in mass shootings. However, **Lott’s critique ignored the entire point of the report, which was to study active-shooting incidents (not mass shootings). As the authors explained in a rebuttal earlier this month: “Lott’s essential argument is a straw man;** he accuses us of saying something that we did not and then attempts to show this is wrong.”

### A2 Lott – *More Guns, Less Crime*

#### This study is literally a disaster – he fabricated results, got caught, and took his name off the paper

Defilippis 14. (Evan DeFilippis has degrees Economics, Political Science, and Psychology from the University of Oklahoma. He is a Truman Scholar, a David L. Boren Scholar, and was the university valedictorian in 2012.) Evan Defilippis, 6-7-2014, "Campus Gun Control Works- Why Guns and Schools Do Not Mix," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/campus-gun-control-works-why-guns-and-schools-do-not-mix/, accessed 1-29-2016

One of the intellectual touchstones behind the pro-gun movement’s support for extending concealed carry permits to schools is John R. Lott’s book More Guns, Less Crime, first released in 1998 and since updated twice. In response to the book’s claims, a sixteen-member panel of the National Research Council convened in 2004  to address the relationship between right-to-carry laws and crime rates and concluded that the existing evidence did not support the more guns, less crime hypothesis. A reexamination of the NRC’s findings in 2010 found that, at best, [concealed carry laws have a negligible effect on crime rates](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1632599) and, at worst, concealed carrying increases rates of aggravated assault. Two legal scholars, Ian Ayres and John Donohue, [further reviewed](http://islandia.law.yale.edu/ayers/ayres_donohue_article.pdf) Lott’s findings and discovered that his data contain[ed] numerous coding and econometric errors that, when corrected, yield the opposite conclusion: right-to-carry laws increase crime. This was the [second time](http://scienceblogs.com/deltoid/2003/04/25/0426/) Lott presented findings with “convenient” coding errors, and, when confronted by Ayres and Donohue’s research, he removed his name from a [paper](http://johnrlott.tripod.com/Plassmann_Whitley.pdf) that claimed to confirm his results.

### A2 Self-Defense/Assault

#### Updated studies with criminal justice controls and lack of clustered standard errors prove concealed carry could increase assault rates

Defilippis 15. Evan Defilippis, 6-19-2015, (Evan DeFilippis writes on public health and gun violence at [the Atlantic](http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/02/having-a-gun-in-the-house-doesnt-make-a-woman-safer/284022/" \t "_blank), [Huffington Post](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/evan-defilippis/" \t "_blank),[Boston Review](http://www.bostonreview.net/us/evan-defilippis-guns-schools-nra-ucsb" \t "_blank), and [ArmedWithReason](http://www.armedwithreason.com/" \t "_blank). Devin Hughes is the founder of Hughes Capital Management) "Debunking the Gun Free Zone Myth: "Mass Murder Magnets"," Armed With Reason, http://www.armedwithreason.com/debunking-the-gun-free-zone-myth-mass-murder-magnets/, accessed 1-29-2016. NP

Gun-rights advocates have long defended the public carrying of guns on the basis of a widely debunked 1992 study estimating 1.5 million to 2.5 million incidents of defensive gun use per year. Armed citizens, they argue, can uniquely limit the damage of a would-be mass shooting by stopping it before it escalates. Empirical evidence, however, indicates that defensive gun use may occur far less frequently: According to the Gun Violence Archive, there were only 1,600 verified accounts of defensive gun use in 2014. The best current statistical model, which corrects for numerous weaknesses in Lott’s body of work — including coding errors (in his 2000 study on Right to Carry laws, both Philadelphia and Idaho had their “year of adoption” dates for concealed-carry laws coded incorrectly), a lack of standard criminal-justice controls, and a lack of clustered standard errors (a standard econometric practice) — suggests that concealed-carry laws may actually increase the rate of aggravated assaults.

### A2 Substitution

#### No substitution – other firearms are barred from campuses, concealed carry is the exception

Houston 15 summarizes Texas’ gun laws, Scott. Deputy Executive Director and General Counsel. Texas Municipal League. Cities and Firearms. [www.tml.org/p/July%202015%20QA%20-%20MunicipalGunRegulation%20FINAL%20with%20chart.pdf](http://www.tml.org/p/July%202015%20QA%20-%20MunicipalGunRegulation%20FINAL%20with%20chart.pdf). NP 2/8/16.

In what places is a person prohibited by state law from carrying a firearm? State law prohibits the carrying of certain types of firearms in certain places. A “firearm” generally means any device designed, made, or adapted to expel a projectile through a barrel by using the energy generated by an explosion or burning substance or any device readily convertible to that use. TEX. PENAL CODE § 46.01(a)(3). A “handgun” is a subset of a firearm and means any firearm that is designed, made, or adapted to be fired with one hand. Id. § 46.01(a)(5). A person commits a third degree felony if the person intentionally, knowingly, or recklessly possesses or goes with any firearm: 1. on the physical premises of a school or educational institution, any grounds or building on which an activity sponsored by a school or educational institution is being conducted, or a passenger transportation vehicle of a school or educational institution, whether the school or educational institution is public or private, unless pursuant to written regulations or written authorization of the institution (Note: Beginning August 1, 2016, a “campus concealed carry exception” will apply to this provision that will allow a license holder to carry a concealed handgun on the premises of an institution of higher education [other than the premises of a junior college, on which concealed carry will not go into effect until August 1, 2017] or private or independent institution of higher education, on any grounds or building on which an activity sponsored by the institution is being conducted, or in a passenger transportation vehicle of the institution.); 4 2. on the premises (“premises” generally means a building or a portion of a building, but not including any public or private driveway, street, sidewalk or walkway, parking lot, parking garage, or other parking area) of a polling place on the day of an election or while early voting is in progress; 3. on the premises of any government court or offices utilized by the court, unless pursuant to written regulations or written authorization of the court; 4. on the premises of a racetrack; 5. in or into a secured area of an airport (i.e., an area of an airport terminal building to which access is controlled by the inspection of persons and property under federal law)(Note: A new defense to this offense was added by H.B. 554, and will be effective on September 1, 2015. The defense essentially says that a license holder who makes a mistake at security by forgetting that he possesses a handgun can leave upon notice); or 6. within 1,000 feet of premises the location of which is designated by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice as a place of execution on a day that a sentence of death is set to be imposed on the designated premises and the person received notice that doing so is prohibited (unless the person is on a public road and going to or from his home or business). Id. § 46.03. The exclusions above, with the exception of the “campus concealed carry exception” in (1), apply to the carrying of a firearm by any person, regardless of whether the person holds a license to carry a handgun. Id. § 46.03(f).

Texas laws are the most lax, so default me. Also – they have the proactive burden of proof

#### Dichotomy is drawn between gun-free zones, and guns on campus, which only include handguns

KGC 15, 3-17-2015, "The Campaign to Keep Guns off Campus’ new study shows that on-campus crime rates have increased in two states where concealed carry on campus is allowed," Keep Guns Off Campus, http://keepgunsoffcampus.org/blog/2015/03/17/the-campaign-to-keep-guns-off-campus-new-study-shows-that-on-campus-crime-rates-have-increased-in-two-states-where-concealed-carry-on-campus-is-allowed/, accessed 2-9-2016. NP 2/9/16.

The Campaign to Keep Guns off Campus released results from the following study of on-campus crime rates in Utah and Colorado to refute the claim by the gun lobby that the presence of concealed handguns on college campuses reduces violent crime. A common argument for supporters of campus carry legislation is that in states where campuses are required to allow students, faculty, and staff to carry concealed handguns – criminals are deterred and crime drops. As they also argue, “gun free zones” attract more crime. A recent study conducted by the Campaign to Keep Guns off Campus using FBI Uniform Crime Statistics and Clery Act data from 2004-2013 shows the data does not support the often repeated argument by the gun lobby that the presence of concealed weapons on campus causes a drop in crime. More specifically, over this ten-year period, crime statistics from all public colleges and universities in Utah and Colorado that permit concealed carry were used, compared to the overall FBI crime statistics for the United States. A brief summary of the data shows that on college campuses where concealed carry is permitted, the crime rates actually increased while the student population decreased. As the population of the United States rises at a steady rate of about .7% yearly, the student population of Utah campuses has fluctuated over a ten-year span (2004-2013) with the last two years (2012-2013) consisting of a 1.7% and 2.3% drop in enrollment. The fluctuation for Colorado is similar with the last two years consisting of a .6% and 1.3% decrease.

## Generic A2 CPS

#### Generic reforms that call for safer use of gun do **shit** to deconstruct the culture of violence in America – communal call for reform is key

Giroux 15, Henry. America's Addiction to Violence. www.counterpunch.org/2015/12/25/americas-addiction-to-violence-2/ December 25, 2015. NP 1/2/16.

Yet, the only reforms we hear about are for safer gun policies, mandatory body cameras worn by the police, and more background checks. These may be well-intentioned reforms but they do not get to the root of the problem, which is a social and economic system that trades in death in order to accumulate profits. What we don’t hear about are the people who trade their conscience for supporting the gun lobby, particularly the National Rifle Association. These are the politicians in congress who create the conditions for mass shootings and gun violence because they have been bought and sold by the apostles of the death industry. These are the same politicians who support the militarization of everyday life, who trade in torture, who bow down slavishly to the arms industries, and who wallow in the handouts provided by the military-industrial-academic complex. These utterly corrupted politicians are killers in suits whose test of courage and toughness was captured in one of the recent Republican Party presidential debates, when Ben Carson, was asked by Hugh Hewett, a reactionary right-wing talk show host, if he would be willing to kill thousands of children in the name of exercising tough leadership. As if killing innocent children is a legitimate test for leadership. This is what the war-mongering politics of hysterical fear with its unbridled focus on terrorism has come to–a future that will be defined by moral and political zombies who represent the real face of terrorism, domestic and otherwise.

Clearly the cause of violence in America will not stop by merely holding the politicians responsible. America has become a society in which the illegitimacy of violence is matched by the illegitimacy and lawlessness of politics. What is needed is a mass political movement willing to challenge and replace a broken system that gives corrupt and war mongering politicians excessive and corrupting political and economic power. Democracy and justice are on life support and the challenge is to bring them back to life not by reforming the system but by replacing it. This will only take place with the development of politics in which the obligation to justice is matched by an endless responsibility to collective struggle, one with a politics and social formation that speaks to the highest ideals of a democratic socialism.

## A2 Security Guard/Campus Security PIC

#### Armed security forces are inept at dealing with rape on college campuses – instead they profile black students, prevent political activism, and inject fear onto campuses

Hadden 14, Jess E. PSU APPROVES GUNS FOR CAMPUS SECURITY TO MORE EFFECTIVELY IGNORE RAPE ALLEGATIONS. pdxintelligencer.com/psu-approves-guns-campus-security-effectively-ignore-rape-allegations/ 12/12/2014. (Hadden is the Editor-in-Chief at The Portland Intelligencer:) NP 1/2/16

PORTLAND, OR — At long last, Portland State University is ready to take action. More to the point, they’re ready to give a piece of that action to their new weaponized security force — a semi-automatic piece of the action. The PSU Board of Trustees believes that this move will help streamline the administration’s process of doing nothing in response to specific allegations of on-campus sexual assault. Studies show that, while college administrations are adept at ignoring rape allegations, their efforts are nothing compared to the skill & acumen with which armed, sworn peace officers are able to take inaction in response to allegations of sexual assault. As an additional bonus, armed security guards will be better equipped to check the IDs of every black student who displays their blackness on campus — and having a weapon will come in handy, if a black “student” reaches into his “pocket” for his “wallet” when asked for said ID. 11 Points By off-loading the responsibility of ignoring sexual assault to an armed security force, the administration will be free to focus its energies on catching up with competing universities on other important matters — such as photoshopping people of color into their recruitment brochures. 11 POINTS By off-loading the responsibility of ignoring sexual assault to an armed security force, the administration will be free to focus its energies on catching up with competing universities on other important matters — such as photoshopping people of color into their recruitment brochures. But Dr. Sybil Carpenter, a local expert in political gamesmanship with a PhD in propaganda techn iques, believes that the impetus behind this decision has little to do with campus security or safety. “Historically, most political movements are born in institutions of higher education. Just look at what’s happening in Berkeley right now,” Carpenter points out. “Students are rising up against killer cops, against racist security guards. This is about killing student movements. This is about profiling politically-active students, and instilling fear, to prevent an uprising.” “A lot of students are already psychologically affected with security guards carrying around guns,” she adds. DONT SHOOT PDX (@DONTSHOOTPDX) Only a fucking liberal arts major could complain about “how they feel” about arming campus security, while ignoring the dead bodies piling up on campus. If Carpenter’s supposition is true, however, it should be noted that this kind of action tends to backfire. “Amidst the backdrop of our national epidemic of police terrorism, this kind of move is only going to enrage the movement in Portland,” Carpenter explains. “We’re going to see more protest, not less. And any violence that this armed campus security force unleashes? Will only fuel the protest movement that much more.” Indeed, as board member Maude Hines observes, “I’m a literature professor, and as they say, if there’s a gun in the first act, you know it’s going to be used by the third act” — a reference to the literary device known as Chekhov’s gun, which suggests that Hines herself prefers the Shakespearean structure of The Original Series to the aimless & meandering plotlines of Star Trek: Enterprise. Given the [there is] heavily-skewed racial bias in lethal force used by police & armed security in the United States, a small number of people — who didn’t seem to even know what they were protesting — attended the board’s vote, to voice their dissent. However, Phil Zerzan, the chief of CPSO, had long ago already adequately addressed the group’s wayward concerns — by suggesting that PSU simply won’t have racist cops. The Omega Man Zerzan’s proactive approach to officially-sanctioned racial violence leads us to wonder if he attended the same diversity training that Mayor Hales and Chief Reese did. THE OMEGA MAN Zerzan’s proactive approach to officially-sanctioned racial violence leads us to wonder if he attended the same diversity training that Mayor Hales and Chief Reese did. Indeed, the sentiment that the administration is being less-than-honest about their motivations is one shared by many who attended yesterday’s board meeting. One person in the crowd reportedly asked what good having armed guards would do, if the administration itself was unwilling to take action in response to allegations of serious crimes. “Is this about protecting students, or keeping students from speaking out?,” he yelled, as the board was attempting to vote. Fortunately, before the agitator could further upset the assembly, an armed guard drew his taser and subdued him. The disruptive individual is now facing charges of conspiracy to incite riot, resisting arrest, and improperly conducting the electricity of a sworn peace officer’s weapon. He is currently being arraigned at PSU’s recently-approved maximum-security detention center, a converted kennel.

#### No impact to security guards – they’ve been replaced with police officers

Campo-Flores and Carlton 15. Campo-Flores, Arian. Carlton, Jim. Oregon College Shootings Put Focus on Campus Security www.wsj.com/articles/oregon-college-shootings-put-focus-on-campus-security-1443831441 October 2nd, 2015. NP 1/2/16.

Colleges are also increasingly replacing security guards with police officers they have hired or enhancing existing police departments on campus, said William Taylor, president of the International Association of Campus Law Enforcement Administrators. Agencies are outfitting officers with equipment such as body armor, ballistic helmets and rifles. And they are providing more training on how to respond to active shooters.

#### Armed security guards aren’t fast enough to prevent shootings

Williams 15, Timothy. Mass Shooting at Umpqua Community College in Oregon: Live Updates. [www.nytimes.com/live/shooting-at-umpqua-community-college/plan-for-armed-campus-security-guards-was-dismissed](http://www.nytimes.com/live/shooting-at-umpqua-community-college/plan-for-armed-campus-security-guards-was-dismissed). 10/1/15. NP 1/2/16.

Joe Olson, who retired as president of Umpqua Community College at the end of June, said that within the past several months the college had discussed hiring an armed security guard but ultimately decided against it. “We talked about that over the last year because we were concerned about safety on campus,” he said. “The campus was split 50-50. We thought we were a very safe campus, and having armed security officers on campus might change the culture.” Dr. Olson, a former deputy sheriff in Massachusetts, said there had not been a specific incident that had prompted the idea of hiring armed security, but there was a generalized fear. He said he did not believe a security guard could prevent a gunman determined to kill. “If you want to come on the campus and you want to shoot five people, you are going to do that before our security would arrive,” he said. Dr. Olson said the typical student on the Umpqua campus was older than the average college student, and many were taking courses in nursing, automobile mechanics and welding to learn new skills. Many had lost jobs in the timber industry, he said.

#### Heavily armed security guards is not the answer – instead it militarizes college campuses, is ineffective to prevent violence, and perpetuates fear

Isong and Morales 15. Isong, Sheila E. Morales, Jessica. Campuses and Guns A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention. genprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23093430/Campuses-and-Guns.pdf March 2015. (Isong is a Nigerian-American Policy Manager for Generation Progress, where her research focuses on higher education/student debt, voting rights, and gun violence prevention. She served as the legal and public policy advocate at the National Black Justice Coalition, where she proposed short- and long-range public policy initiatives that advanced civil rights enforcement inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. Jessica Morales is a Policy Advocate for Generation Progress. She is from the great state of Texas where she graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with her undergraduate degree in government and political communications.). NP 1/2/16.

As instances of gun violence on campuses increase, some have called to further arm campus police to respond to violent attacks, just as others have called for campus carry. Since 1998, the Department of Defense has transferred hundreds of pieces of military equipment (weaponry included) to at least 124 colleges and universities across the United States.98 The federal program, known as the 1033 Program, transfers military surplus to law 17 states and the District of Columbia have extended background check requirements. Figure 4 1111 Center for American Progress Generation Progress Campuses and Guns: A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention | Factsheet Title enforcement agencies, and this has included campuses across the nation.99 Some of the equipment delivered includes: assault rifles, grenade launchers, and ambush-protected vehicles.100 The 1033 Program aims to assist departments (particularly those with limited budgets) obtain “necessary” equipment at low costs. But, this begs the question, what is necessary equipment to keep college and university communities safe? Are college campuses any place for military-level equipment? Proponents argue that there are very specific instances in which the equipment would be utilized, such as active shooter scenarios, like the incident at Virginia Tech.101 Ohio State University spokesman Dan Hedman has stated that the 1033 program “is a valuable supplement to campus safety efforts.”102 Florida International University’s police chief Alexander Casas said that the program helps the police better address community needs.103 However, in response to the active shooter defense, these types of dangerous weapons would likely not have been necessary to contain the shooter at Virginia Tech. In that instance, and those like it, violence occurs within minutes and by the time police arrive with any form of weaponry, the incident will likely be over.104 Furthermore, the proliferation of these types of weapons will not combat the types of crimes that occur on a daily basis at colleges and universities.105 College campuses have high instances of alcohol-related crimes and sexual assault, and dangerous military equipment is not required to combat or contain these sorts of crimes.106 In response to questions as to why the University of Central Florida needs a grenade launcher, campus police have stated for “security and crowd control.”107 But students across the country have been in uproar about the militarization of campus police and many argue that the presence of such weaponry promotes violence and leaves colleges and universities feeling uptight and under constant surveillance.108 Others have noted that they do not promote free expression.109 Police are already under intense scrutiny for unnecessary uses of force, a lack of accountability for the killing of unarmed black youth across the country, and the militarized response of certain police departments when demonstrators have taken to the streets.110 In Ferguson, MO, for example, images of police officers wearing camouflage uniforms, driving in armored vehicles, and carrying military-grade guns against largely peaceful demonstrators begged the question: what weaponry is necessary to ensure that citizens and college students are safe?111 The 1033 Program has also received newly infused In response to questions as to why the University of Central Florida needs a grenade launcher, campus police have stated for security and crowd control.” “ 12 Center for American Progress | Factsheet Title 12 Generation Progress Campuses and Guns: A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention scrutiny since these events.112 In Indiana, there is an ongoing debate raging on about the necessity of highgrade military weapons. At least five Indiana universities have armed their officers with military-style weapons.113 Community and campus police in Indiana have obtained more than 4,400 items since 2010.114 Campus police have obtained: body armor, military vehicles, and M-14 and M-16 rifles—akin to the kind that were used in the Vietnam War.115 But opinions about the necessity of these types of weaponry may be changing. Purdue University Calumet police chief Anthony Martin has said, “Particularly after we have just read about Ferguson, I have been re-evaluating the need of an M-14, it’s a heavy weapon.”116 Weapons such as M-14 military rifles have blurred the lines between campus police and the military. Military forces are trained to fight the enemy and wreak havoc on them, while civilian police departments are dealing with individuals with constitutional rights.117 The goal is to avoid using force (if possible) and to use the minimum required to bring a suspect to the court of law.118 Purdue University Calumet Police Chief Martin stated, “On college campuses, police roles are even more narrowly defined: police are there to protect students and faculty.”119 Recently, Congressman Hank Johnson (D-GA), re-introduced the bipartisan “Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act of 2015” (H.R. 1232) in order to place restrictions and transparency measures on the 1033 Program.120 This bill, if passed, would also place restrictions on the types of weapons that could be transferred to college and university campuses.121 Highly evolved military equipment used by the police are affecting police and community relations, and the increase of this military gear on college campuses can only lead to a more tense campus community.122 While gun violence on campus has increased, the response should not be to further arm police with equipment used in war-inflicted combat zones.

#### Increased campus security efforts further quell democracy by monitoring students with views antithetical to the government

Giroux 9, Henry A. . The Politics of Higher Education and the Militarized Academy after 9/11. Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics, No. 29, The University & Its Discontents: Egyptian & Global Perspectives / ايملاعو ًايلحم :اهمومهو ةعماجلا‎ً (2009), pp. 104-126. Department of English and Comparative Literature, American University in Cairo and American University in Cairo Press. NP 1/1/16.

One example of the ever-expanding landscape of the lockdown mode can be found in the ways in which the suspect society views and deals with higher education. Michael Gould-Wartofsky offers a compelling set of instances that reveal the ongoing attempt by the US government to construct what he calls the homeland-security campus.56 Under the guise of the war 114 Alif29 (2009) This content downloaded from 146.95.224.2 on Fri, 01 Jan 2016 20:12:33 UTC All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions on terror, higher education is viewed as a hotbed of radical activity, and subject to a range of militarized actions that increasingly transform it into "the latest watch tower in fortress America."57 For example, as the government extends the methods of its full lockdown mode to higher education, dissidents are increasingly subject to domestic spying programs aimed at tracking potential terrorists; campus police now routinely double as FBI agents, often monitoring and interrogating student and faculty activists; campus police are increasingly being armed with Tasers, handguns, and other deadly weapons; over half of all colleges now use cameras for surveillance, turning students and faculty into objects of the suspect society. Finally, not only are student records now mined for purposes of investigation, recruitment, and tracking, but these databases are shared between universities and various federal agencies. And as security operations are outsourced to private corporations, the relative autonomy and notion of the university as a democratic public sphere is reduced to another commodity legitimated through the alleged war on terrorism, which increasingly appears to mimic the very forces it claims to be fighting.58

## A2 People Come Onto Campus

#### This makes up a small minority of on campus shootings

Isong and Morales 15. Isong, Sheila E. Morales, Jessica. Campuses and Guns A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention. genprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23093430/Campuses-and-Guns.pdf March 2015. (Isong is a Nigerian-American Policy Manager for Generation Progress, where her research focuses on higher education/student debt, voting rights, and gun violence prevention. She served as the legal and public policy advocate at the National Black Justice Coalition, where she proposed short- and long-range public policy initiatives that advanced civil rights enforcement inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. Jessica Morales is a Policy Advocate for Generation Progress. She is from the great state of Texas where she graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with her undergraduate degree in government and political communications.). NP 1/2/16.

Additionally, research indicates that current or former students, or adults with employment or another relationship within the school, usually perpetrate gun violence on college campuses.13 According to “Campus Attacks: Targeted Violence Affecting Institutions of Higher Education,” subjects with no affiliation with the affected college or university committed only 9 percent of targeted assaults.14 With a trend clearly established, colleges and universities could be doing more to better support the needs of current students, faculty, administration, and other campus-affiliated persons.

# Random Stuff

## Quality of Education

#### Campus carry is really fucking expensive and thus decreases quality of education

Isong and Morales 15. Isong, Sheila E. Morales, Jessica. Campuses and Guns A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention. genprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/23093430/Campuses-and-Guns.pdf March 2015. (Isong is a Nigerian-American Policy Manager for Generation Progress, where her research focuses on higher education/student debt, voting rights, and gun violence prevention. She served as the legal and public policy advocate at the National Black Justice Coalition, where she proposed short- and long-range public policy initiatives that advanced civil rights enforcement inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. Jessica Morales is a Policy Advocate for Generation Progress. She is from the great state of Texas where she graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with her undergraduate degree in government and political communications.). NP 1/2/16.

The increased costs facing institutions have most recently been displayed in Idaho. Five of Idaho’s universities and community colleges have thus far spent more than $1.5 million to enhance security on campuses after campus carry was approved by the state legislature in 2014.44 The schools will likely have to absorb the cost from existing allocations and they expect total costs to top $3.7 million for the year.45 6 Generation Progress Campuses and Guns: A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention Explicitly ban campus carry Leave decision to individual institutions Have legislation pending Source: National Conference of State Legislatures Figure 3 7 Center for American Progress | Factsheet Title 7 Generation Progress Campuses and Guns: A Multilateral Approach to Gun Violence Prevention The five schools—Boise State University, Idaho State University, the University of Idaho, the College of Western Idaho, and North Idaho College—sought $1.55 million from the state for expenses already incurred, and an additional $2.7 million for the rest of the school year.46 The costs include expenses for personnel, training, and equipment.47 The institutions have had to hire new staff, pay for additional training, and purchase new equipment.48 Because the state’s governor did not include additional funding in the state’s budget and the legislature is not likely to add any, the schools will have to absorb the costs.49 This could mean less money being spent on students at a time when investment per student in Idaho by the state legislature has decreased per fulltime student (per year) by $3,766 since 2007.50 Additionally, according to fiscal analysis developed by Texas’ higher education systems, “campus carry would cost the University of Texas and University of Houston systems nearly $47 million combined over 6 years to update security systems, build gun storage facilities, and bolster campus police units,” according to reporting by the Houston Chronicle. 51 The campus police departments would have to spend millions on the installation of gun safes and lockers, training for staff and on-campus security, and additional administrative personnel.52 Additionally, colleges and universities could see a rise in insurance costs if campus carry was implemented on their campuses.53 In 2011, the Houston Community College Board of Trustees estimated insurance costs rising as much as $900,000 per year if campus carry was passed.54 Campus carry would make administrations stretch budgets and force schools to spend more on overhead, rather than individualized education.

# T-Frontlines

### K O/W T

#### 1. If we’re in the direction of the topic that puts sufficient mitigation on your voters for the aff role of the ballot to outweigh.

#### 2. Imposition of rules is a disadvantage to voting on theory; rejecting militarization requires opening up spaces of resistance without opposition to dialogue-that’s Giroux 12.

#### 3. Challenging the warfare state outweighs-it’s a form of systemic violence that permeates all of society but your impacts are small and only apply to you.

#### 4. You could have engaged with the aff through other generics like Ks, advantage Cps and generic solvency turns, they all apply to the aff. Even if the violation prevented some engagement, reasonable ability to answer aff means education of discussing neolib outweighs. Also checks back for aff side bias caused by timeskew and neg reactivity, being non topical improves my strat.

#### 5. Silence and lack of action mean we’re complicit in systemic oppression – that’s Giroux 12

## Merriam Webster O/W

Merriam Webster 2 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/info/>

For more than 150 years, in print and now online, Merriam-Webster has been America's leading and most-trusted provider of language information. Each month, our Web sites offer guidance to more than 40 million visitors. In print, our publications include Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (among the best-selling books in American history) and newly published dictionaries for English-language learners. All Merriam-Webster products and services are backed by the largest team of professional dictionary editors and writers in America, and one of the largest in the world.

Precision is a precondition on T-the question is whether or not you’re topical because your jurisdiction is to vote on topical cases so even if your interp is most fair and educational interp accuracy comes first.

2. Predictability: a) it’s the first definition on an incredibly popular and widely used dictionary, that’s where most people go fr definitions b) lots of editors means that definitions reflect broad consensus of usage which determines what the word means, c) best-selling means it’s accessible to the population including debaters, d) any other interp allows an infinite number of affs since any type of choice regarding your body would be medical. My interp creates a manageable caselist that’s consistent with the core of the lit. Impacts: A. key to fairness-I can’t predict the aff then I can’t engage it and you have a structural prep advantage, B. kills education since we can’t have a nuanced contention debate if I don’t know the aff.

## T-Throughout

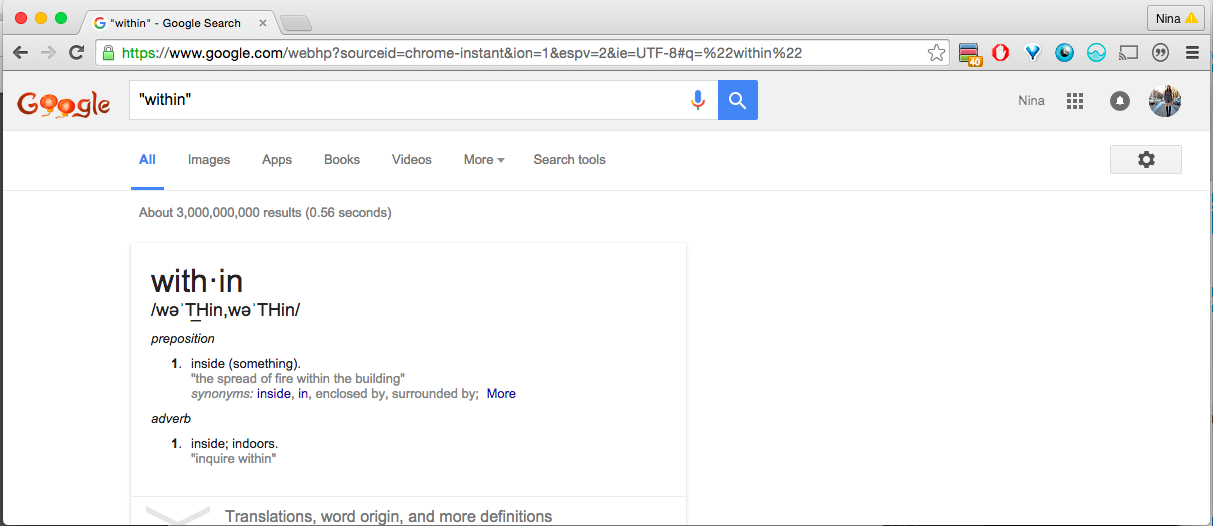
A: C/I: Merriam Webster defines in:

a —used as a function word **to indicate** inclusion, **location,** or position **within limits**<in the lake> <wounded in the leg> <in the summer>[[3]](#footnote-3)

AND

dictionary.com defines ‘in’ as <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/in> (used to indicate inclusion within space, a place, or limits).

Prefer – a) consistency - the U.S. is defined by limits, b) handgun bans have historically been enacted on a smaller level c) common usage – within is used more commonly



### Macintosh HD:Users:nina:Desktop:Screen Shot 2016-02-08 at 3.02.00 PM.png

screenshots taken 2/8/16.

### I-meet

1. I defend handgun bans throughout colleges in the U.S, which is consistent. Merriam Webster gives an example of usage of throughout:

**The company has stores *throughout* the United States and Canada**.[[4]](#footnote-4)

1. I-meet, your interpretation of throughout only applies to time: - e.g.

His supporters remained loyal *throughout* his difficulties.*Throughout* her life, she has suffered with the disease. **It rained *throughout* the day.** [[5]](#footnote-5) So i-meet since I defend a handgun ban throughout time

1. I-meet, I defend bans passed throughout U.S. territory – there’s no restriction where laws can be passed
2. I-meet, colleges can be *anywhere* and it’d always be illegal so the ban’s throughout the whole country

## T-Ownership

A: C/I: Merriam Webster defines to own:

: to have (something) as property **: to legally possess (something)**[[6]](#footnote-6)

Prefer this interpretation – a) context – other words in the res imply legal context: Merriam Webster defines **to ban[[7]](#footnote-7):**  **to prohibit especially by legal means***<ban discrimination>*; *also* **:**  to prohibit the use, performance, or distribution of *<ban a book>* *<ban a pesticide>*

b) only legal definitions can be used since the res restricts ownership to the U.S., there’s no T affs under your interp since people can own guns in other countries

To clarify, the affirmative debater may defend a legal prohibition of handgun possession in a part of the United States.

B: I-meet

C:

1. Legal education – this lets us discuss the ways in which legislation codifies our ability to possess objects, which is key since we better understand laws and government actions. Legal education’s key

**Nielson 11** Toni Nielson (Assistant Director of Debate at CSU Fullerton, 4.3 Overall Rating on Ratemyprofessors.com as of 4/7/13). “Prison Reform Topic Paper.” 25 April 2011. http://www.cedadebate.org/forum/index.php?action=dlattach;topic=2381.0;attach=664

Second, **if a large percent**age **of debaters enter** into **law** school, **political science, or social justice** work post their undergraduate studies, **then the prison topic would be valuable** as practical **research for** their **future studies. Debate skills, such as research**, listening, public speaking, personal expression, problem-solving skills, **are highly transferable** in these areas of graduate study. We are all familiar with research indicating **70% of judges recommend** participation in **intercollegiate debate as a precursor to law school** (Freely & Steinberg, 2009). **Debaters** themselves **list law school prep**aration **as one** of the **advantage**s **of** intercollegiate **debate** (Williams, McGee & Worth, 2001). You aren't likely go to law school and skip over a discussion of the penal system. **The debate community has an opportunity to prepare** our undergraduates **for** work in **a field they are most likely to go into.**

1. Ground – your interp means I must defend ban of ownership of guns everywhere which I can’t since there’s no actor with jurisdiction over laws in the whole world, kills real world education since it won’t happen, and ground since there’s no lit on global handgun bans, and I’ll always lose by violating extra-T

### I-Meet

1. I-meet – students and teachers who live on campus can’t own guns
2. I-meet – *private ownership* is banned since colleges have discretion over what to do with guns found on campus
3. I-meet – owning something means it is subject to your discretion, but it’s not on campus since you can NEVER use it
4. I-meet – my plan text fiats that I ban private ownership
5. I-meet – state restriction on use of property means it’s no longer private

Tesón and Vossen 12. Fernando R. Tesón and Bas van der Vossen. (Vossen is anAssistant Professor in the Philosophy Department at UNC Greensboro, co-editor for the Routledge Handbook of Libertarianism. His work focuses on questions of political philosophy, primarily about the ethical dimensions of international affairs and the justification of property rights; Tobias Simon Eminent Scholar, Florida State University.) The Kantian Case for Classical Liberalism.  George Mason University, PPE colloquium, November 2012. N

It follows from this that if a person, body, or institution has this kind of control over objects, it has, for Kant, ownership over that object. If the state has the ability to make allocative decisions with respect to objects, goods, resources, or capital, then the state enjoys (the equivalent of) a property right[s] over them. That is, the redistributive state has property rights in just the sense that is relevant to Kant’s principles of right. We can see this more clearly from the standpoint of the state’s subjects. If the state is entitled to make allocative decisions with respect to an object O possessed by a subject, then the state decides what ends O is supposed to serve, and not the will of individual subject. The subject may have de facto possession of O, but she does not have rightful control over it. Her holdings change hands when the state, and not she, determines that it should. Therefore, she is not in a position of rightful ownership with respect to O. For if she were, then others could not justly substitute their choice for hers about what happens to O. It follows that not the subject but the state has a property right over O.

## T-Private

### I-Meet

1. I-meet – my plan text fiats that I ban private ownership

2. I-meet – many public college campuses have apartment buildings on campuses that they own, but are still private residences.

3. I-meet – students and teachers who live on campus can’t own guns.

4. I-meet – the plan text bans ownership of handguns in dormitories, which is private ownership. Two warrants:

A. The function of a dorm is identical to that of a private abode.

Smith ‘13 “Second Amendment Challengesto Student Housing Firearms Bans: The Strength of the Home Analogy,” by Michael L. Smith, Articles Editor for the UCLA Law Review, Volume 61, and J.D. Candidate, 2014 at UCLA School of Law. Article, edited by Adam Winkler, 2013. TF

While the characteristics of a dormitory may be different from a typical private residence, a student’s dorm room still functions like a home. A student typically contracts with the college or university to stay in the dorm room, similar to signing a lease for a private apartment. Students sleep, study, and socialize in dorm rooms, which are practices typically carried out in private residences.

B. Case law supports the conclusion that dorms are legally private residences

Smith ‘13 “Second Amendment Challengesto Student Housing Firearms Bans: The Strength of the Home Analogy,” by Michael L. Smith, Articles Editor for the UCLA Law Review, Volume 61, and J.D. Candidate, 2014 at UCLA School of Law. Article, edited by Adam Winkler, 2013. TF

Case authority supports these arguments by analogy. Courts have recognized dormitories as “a student’s home away from home” for purposes of Fourth Amendment protection.55 In Piazzola v. Watkins,56 the court held that a student occupying a “college dormitory room enjoys the protection of the Fourth Amendment.”57 Other dormitories in noncollege settings have also been held to constitute homes for Fourth Amendment purposes.58 In Morale v. Grigel,59 the court noted that a student considers a dorm room to be a private place that is free from governmental intrusion without permission.60 Despite the communal living arrangements of dormitories, the court held that students in dorm rooms have a reasonable expectation of privacy under the Fourth Amendment.61

*Case law turns and outweighs your evidence—lets us discuss the ways in which legislation codifies our ability to possess objects, which is key since we better understand laws and government actions. Legal education’s key:*

***Nielson 11*** *Toni Nielson (Assistant Director of Debate at CSU Fullerton, 4.3 Overall Rating on Ratemyprofessors.com as of 4/7/13). “Prison Reform Topic Paper.” 25 April 2011. http://www.cedadebate.org/forum/index.php?action=dlattach;topic=2381.0;attach=664 NP*

*Second,* ***if a large percent****age* ***of debaters enter*** *into* ***law*** *school,* ***political science, or social justice*** *work post their undergraduate studies,* ***then the prison topic would be valuable*** *as practical* ***research for*** *their* ***future studies. Debate skills, such as research****, listening, public speaking, personal expression, problem-solving skills,* ***are highly transferable*** *in these areas of graduate study. We are all familiar with research indicating* ***70% of judges recommend*** *participation in* ***intercollegiate debate as a precursor to law school*** *(Freely & Steinberg, 2009).* ***Debaters*** *themselves* ***list law school prep****aration* ***as one*** *of the* ***advantage****s* ***of*** *intercollegiate* ***debate*** *(Williams, McGee & Worth, 2001). You aren't likely go to law school and skip over a discussion of the penal system.* ***The debate community has an opportunity to prepare*** *our undergraduates* ***for*** *work in* ***a field they are most likely to go into.***

Dorms are homes – they’re thus private property

Smith 13. Michael L. Smith. (Michael L. Smith is an Articles Editor for the UCLA Law Review, Volume 61, and J.D. Candidate, 2014 at UCLA School of Law.) Second Amendment Challenges to Student Housing Firearms Bans: The Strength of the Home Analogy. [www.uclalawreview.org/pdf/60-4-5.pdf](http://www.uclalawreview.org/pdf/60-4-5.pdf) 60 UCLA L. Rev. 1046 (2013) NP 2/10/16.

While the characteristics of a dormitory may be different from a typical private residence, a student’s dorm room still functions like a home. A student typically contracts with the college or university to stay in the dorm room, similar to signing a lease for a private apartment. Students sleep, study, and socialize in dorm rooms, which are practices typically carried out in private residences. Case authority supports these arguments by analogy. Courts have recognized dormitories as“a student’s home away from home” for purposes of Fourth Amendment protection.55 In Piazzola v. Watkins, 56 the court held that a student occupying a “college dormitory room enjoys the protection of the Fourth Amendment.”57 Other dormitories in non college settings have also been held to constitute homes for Fourth Amendment purposes.58 In Morale v. Grigel, 59 the court noted that a student considers a dorm room to be a private place that is free from governmental intrusion without permission.60 Despite the communal living arrangements of dormitories, the court held that studentsin dorm rooms have a reasonable expectation of privacy underthe Fourth Amendment.61 Admittedly, the Fourth Amendment allows for a reasonable expectation of privacy in one’s person, vehicle, and other locations not typically considered one’s home.62 Despite this, the language of Morale and other cases combined with cases that recognize the privacy interest in a dorm room support the conclusion that a dorm is a “home” for Second Amendment purposes. Students may argue that Fourth Amendment cases’ recognition of dorm rooms as homes may transfer to Second Amendment analysis. The arguments above, both for and against the definition of student housing as a home for purposes of Second Amendment analysis, are unsupported by direct authority. This is because courts have not yet taken the opportunity to define the term “home” in the Second Amendment context following Heller’s recent language. Ultimately, courts and possibly legislatures will have broad discretion in determining the definition of home for purposes of Second Amendment analysis, especially in the context ofstudent dormitories.63 It is important to note, however, that the argument fails to address the situation of apartments owned by a public college or university. UCLA, for example, owns a number of off-campus apartment buildings that it uses to meet its ever-expanding student housing needs.64 In the case of apartment-style housing, the student housing bears all the characteristics of a private apartment with the exception that an educational institution owns the building. While courts may be persuaded by arguments that dormitories lack the characteristics of private residences because of their shared spaces and facilities, courts will be hard pressed to apply similar reasoning to student housing that is almost identical to private apartments, with the mere difference of having a government landlord.

#### Word

Smith 13. Michael L. Smith. (Michael L. Smith is an Articles Editor for the UCLA Law Review, Volume 61, and J.D. Candidate, 2014 at UCLA School of Law.) Second Amendment Challenges to Student Housing Firearms Bans: The Strength of the Home Analogy. [www.uclalawreview.org/pdf/60-4-5.pdf](http://www.uclalawreview.org/pdf/60-4-5.pdf) 60 UCLA L. Rev. 1046 (2013) NP 2/10/16.

Public colleges and universities or state governments often ban the possession of firearms on public university or college property. These bans typically extend to student housing. While much has been written about campus bans on the carrying of concealed firearms, the topic of gun bans in the student housing context has been largely unaddressed in Second Amendment literature. This Comment seeks to fill that gap by evaluating potential student challenges to firearms bans in the student housing context in light of potential standards of review courts may apply and in light of the U.S. Supreme Court’s decisions in District of Columbia v. Heller and McDonald v. City of Chicago. This Comment concludes that students may challenge firearms bans in student housing by characterizing student housing as homes for purposes of Second Amendment analysis. Given the close analogy between the homes in Heller and McDonald and certain forms of student housing, these challenges are likely to persuade a court to strike down student housing firearms bans that prohibit the use of firearms in self-defense in students’ homes for violating core Second Amendment protections, especially in cases involving apartment-style student housing.

## Plans Bad (omitted)

# Extra

## A2 Reformism Bad

#### Gun control is good, AS LONG AS it doesn’t abstract from addressing braoder cultural issues. The 1AC did that which it’s discussion of the military industrial complex, neoliberalism, and culture of violence.

Giroux 12 Henry (Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University) “Colorado Shooting Is About More Than Gun Culture” Truthout July 23rd 2012 <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/10469-colorado-shooting-is-about-more-than-gun-culture> JW

The current reporting about the recent tragic shooting in Aurora, Colorado, is very discouraging. The media response to the alleged murderous rampage by James Holmes largely focuses on the guns he used, the easy availability of the ammunition he stockpiled, the booby trapping of his apartment and the ways in which he meticulously prepared for the carnage he allegedly produced. This is a similar script we saw unfold after the massacres at Columbine high school; Virginia Tech; Fort Hood; the supermarket in Tucson, Arizona; and the more recent gang shootings in Chicago. Immediately following such events, there is the expected call for gun control, new legislation to limit the sale of assault rifles and a justifiable critique of the pernicious policies of the National Rifle Association. One consequence is that the American public is being inundated with figures about gun violence ranging from the fact that more than 84 people are killed daily with guns to the shocking statistic that there are more than 30,000 gun-related deaths annually. To bring home the deadly nature of firearms in America, Juan Cole has noted that in 2010 there were 8,775 murders by firearms in the US, while in Britain there were 638. These are startling figures, but they do not tell us enough about the cult and spectacle of violence in American society. Another emerging criticism is that neither President Obama nor Mitt Romney has spoken out about gun control in the aftermath of the Aurora shooting. Gun control matters, but it is only one factor in the culture of symbolic and institutional violence that has such a powerful grip on the everyday workings of American society. The issue of violence in America goes far beyond the issue of gun control, and in actuality, when removed from a broader narrative about violence in the United States, it can serve to deflect the most important questions that need to be raised.

### 1AR Neolib

#### Militarization is both caused by and reinforces neoliberalism.

Giroux 12 Henry (Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University) “Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life” Truthout May 2nd 2012 http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-the-brutalizing-of-everyday-life JW

Since 9/11, the war on terror and the campaign for homeland security have increasingly mimicked the tactics of the enemies they sought to crush. Violence and punishment as both a media spectacle and a bone-crushing reality have become prominent and influential forces shaping American society. As the boundaries between "the realms of war and civil life have collapsed," social relations and the public services needed to make them viable have been increasingly privatized and militarized.(1) The logic of profitability works its magic in channeling the public funding of warfare and organized violence into universities, market-based service providers and deregulated contractors. The metaphysics of war and associated forms of violence now creep into every aspect of American society. As the preferred "instrument of statecraft,"(2) war and its intensifying production of violence cross borders, time, space and places. Seemingly without any measure of self-restraint, state-sponsored violence flows and regroups, contaminating both foreign and domestic policies. One consequence of the permanent warfare state is evident in the public revelations concerning a number of war crimes committed recently by US government forces. These include the indiscriminate killings of Afghan civilians by US drone aircraft; the barbaric murder of Afghan children and peasant farmers by American infantrymen infamously labeled as "the kill team";(3) disclosures concerning four American Marines urinating on dead Taliban fighters; and the recent uncovering of photographs showing "more than a dozen soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division's Fourth Brigade Combat Team, along with some Afghan security forces, posing with the severed hands and legs of Taliban attackers in Zabul Province in 2010."(4) And, shocking even for those acquainted with standard military combat, there is the case of Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, who "walked off a small combat outpost in Kandahar province and slaughtered 17 villagers, most of them women and children and later walked back to his base and turned himself in."(5) Mind-numbing violence, war crimes and indiscriminate military attacks on civilians on the part of the US government are far from new, of course, and date back to infamous acts such as the air attacks on civilians in Dresden along with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II.(6) Military spokespersons are typically quick to remind the American public that such practices are part of the price one pays for combat and are endemic to war itself. The history of atrocities committed by the United States in the name of war need not be repeated here, but some of these incidents have doubled in on themselves and fueled public outrage against the violence of war.(7) One of the most famous was the My Lai massacre, which played a crucial role in mobilizing anti-war protests against the Vietnam War. Even dubious appeals to national defense and honor can provide no excuse for mass killings of civilians, rapes and other acts of destruction that completely lack any justifiable military objective. Not only does the alleged normative violence of war disguise the moral cowardice of the warmongers, it also demonizes the enemy and dehumanizes soldiers. It is this brutalizing psychology of desensitization, emotional hardness and the freezing of moral responsibility that is particularly crucial to understand, because it grows out of a formative culture in which war, violence and the dehumanization of others becomes routine, commonplace and removed from any sense of ethical accountability. It is necessary to recognize that acts of extreme violence and cruelty do not represent merely an odd or marginal and private retreat into barbarism. On the contrary, warlike values and the social mindset they legitimate have become the primary currency of a market-driven culture, which takes as its model a Darwinian shark tank in which only the strong survive. At work in the new hyper-social Darwinism is a view of the other as the enemy; an all-too-quick willingness in the name of war to embrace the dehumanization of the other; and an only too-easy acceptance of violence, however extreme, as routine and normalized. As many theorists have observed, the production of extreme violence in its various incarnations is now a show and source of profit for Hollywood moguls, mainstream news, popular culture and the entertainment industry and a major market for the defense industries.(8) This pedagogy of brutalizing hardness and dehumanization is also produced and circulated in schools, boot camps, prisons, and a host of other sites that now trade in violence and punishment for commercial purposes, or for the purpose of containing populations that are viewed as synonymous with public disorder. The mall, juvenile detention facilities, many public housing projects, privately owned apartment buildings and gated communities all embody a model of failed sociality and have come to resemble proto-military spaces in which the culture of violence and punishment becomes the primary order of politics, fodder for entertainment and an organizing principle for society. Even public school reform is now justified in the dehumanizing language of national security, which increasingly legitimates the transformation of schools into adjuncts of the surveillance and police state.(9) The privatization and militarization of schools mutually inform each other as students are increasingly subjected to disciplinary apparatuses which limit their capacity for critical thinking, mold them into consumers, test them into submission, strip them of any sense of social responsibility and convince large numbers of poor minority students that they are better off under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system than by being valued members of thy public schools. All of these spaces and institutions, from malls to schools, are coming to resemble war zones. They produce and circulate forms of symbolic and real violence that dissolve the democratic bonds of social reciprocity just as they appeal incessantly to the market-driven egocentric interests of the autonomous individual, a fear of the other and a stripped-down version of security that narrowly focuses on personal safety rather than collective security nets and social welfare. Under such a war-like regime of privatization, militarism and punishing violence, it is not surprising that the Hollywood film "The Hunger Games" has become a box office hit. The film and its success are symptomatic of a society in which violence has become the new lingua franca. It portrays a society in which the privileged classes alleviate their boredom through satiating their lust for violent entertainment and, in this case, a brutalizing violence waged against children. While a generous reading might portray the film as a critique of class-based consumption and violence given its portrayal of a dystopian future society so willing to sacrifice its children, I think, in the end, the film more accurately should be read as depicting the terminal point of what I have called elsewhere the suicidal society (a suicide pact literally ends the narrative).(10) Given Hollywood's rush for ratings, the film gratuitously feeds enthralled audiences with voyeuristic images of children being killed for sport. In a very disturbing opening scene, the audience observes children killing each other within a visual framing that is as gratuitous as it is alarming. That such a film can be made for the purpose of attaining high ratings and big profits, while becoming overwhelming popular among young people and adults alike, says something profoundly disturbing about the cultural force of violence and the moral emptiness at work in American society. Of course, the meaning and relevance of "The Hunger Games" rest not simply with its production of violent imagery against children, but with the ways these images and the historical and contemporary meanings they carry are aligned and realigned with broader discourses, values and social relations. Within this network of alignments, risk and danger combine with myth and fantasy to stoke the seductions of sadomasochistic violence, echoing the fundamental values of the fascist state in which aesthetics dissolves into pathology and a carnival of cruelty. Within the contemporary neoliberal theater of cruelty, war has expanded its poisonous reach and moves effortlessly within and across America's national boundaries. As Chris Hedges has pointed out brilliantly and passionately, war "allows us to make sense of mayhem and death" as something not to be condemned, but to be celebrated as a matter of national honor, virtue and heroism.(11) War takes as its aim the killing of others and legitimates violence through an amorally bankrupt mindset in which just and unjust notions of violence collapse into each other. Consequently, it has become increasingly difficult to determine justifiable violence and humanitarian intervention from unjustifiable violence involving torture, massacres and atrocities, which now operate in the liminal space and moral vacuum of legal illegalities. Even when such acts are recognized as war crimes, they are often dismissed as simply an inevitable consequence of war itself. This view was recently echoed by Leon Panetta who, responding to the alleged killing of civilians by US Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, observed, "War is hell. These kinds of events and incidents are going to take place, they've taken place in any war, they're terrible events and this is not the first of those events and probably will not be the last."(12) He then made clear the central contradiction that haunts the use of machineries of war in stating, "But we cannot allow these events to undermine our strategy."(13) Panetta's qualification is a testament to barbarism because it means being committed to a war machine that trades in indiscriminate violence, death and torture, while ignoring the pull of conscience or ethical considerations. Hedges is right when he argues that defending such violence in the name of war is a rationale for "usually nothing more than gross human cruelty, brutality and stupidity."(14) War and the organized production of violence has also become a form of governance increasingly visible in the ongoing militarization of police departments throughout the United States. According to the Homeland Security Research Corp, "The homeland security market for state and local agencies is projected to reach $19.2 billion by 2014, up from $15.8 billion in fiscal 2009."(15) The structure of violence is also evident in the rise of the punishing and surveillance state,(16) with its legions of electronic spies and ballooning prison population - now more than 2.3 million. Evidence of state-sponsored warring violence can also be found in the domestic war against "terrorists" (code for young protesters), which provides new opportunities for major defense contractors and corporations to become "more a part of our domestic lives."(17) Young people, particularly poor minorities of color, have already become the targets of what David Theo Goldberg calls "extraordinary power in the name of securitization ... [they are viewed as] unruly populations ... [who] are to be subjected to necropolitical discipline through the threat of imprisonment or death, physical or social."(18) The rhetoric of war is now used by politicians not only to appeal to a solitary warrior mentality in which responsibility is individualized, but also to attack women's reproductive rights, limit the voting rights of minorities and justify the most ruthless cutting of social protections and benefits for public servants and the poor, unemployed and sick. This politics and pedagogy of death begins in the celebration of war and ends in the unleashing of violence on all those considered disposable on the domestic front. A survival-of-the-fittest ethic and the utter annihilation of the other have now become normalized, saturating everything from state policy to institutional practices to the mainstream media. How else to explain the growing taste for violence in, for example, the world of professional sports, extending from professional hockey to extreme martial arts events? The debased nature of violence and punishment seeping into the American cultural landscape becomes clear in the recent revelation that the New Orleans Saints professional football team was "running a 'bounty program' which rewarded players for inflicting injuries on opposing players."(19) In what amounts to a regime of terror pandering to the thrill of the crowd and a take-no-prisoners approach to winning, a coach offered players a cash bonus for "laying hits that resulted in other athletes being carted off the field or landing on the injured player list."(20) The bodies of those considered competitors, let alone enemies, are now targeted as the war-as-politics paradigm turns America into a warfare state. And even as violence flows out beyond the boundaries of state-sponsored militarism and the containment of the sporting arena, citizens are increasingly enlisted to maximize their own participation and pleasure in violent acts as part of their everyday existence - even when fellow citizens become the casualties. Maximizing the pleasure of violence with its echo of fascist ideology far exceeds the boundaries of state-sponsored militarism and violence. Violence can no longer be defined as an exclusively state function since the market in its various economic and cultural manifestations now enacts its own violence on numerous populations no longer considered of value. Perhaps nothing signals the growing market-based savagery of the contemporary moment more than the privatized and corporate-fueled gun culture of America. Gun culture now rules American values, if not also many of US domestic policies. The National Rifle Association is the emerging symbol of what America has come to represent, perfectly captured in T-shirts worn by its followers that brazenly display the messages "I hate welfare" and "If any would not work neither should he eat."(21) The relationship Americans have to guns may be complicated, but the social costs are less nuanced and certainly more deadly. In a country with "90 guns for every 100 people," it comes as no surprise, as Gary Younge points out, that "more than 85 people a day are killed with guns and more than twice that number are injured with them."(22) The merchants of death trade in a formative and material culture of violence that causes massive suffering and despair while detaching themselves from any sense of moral responsibility. Social costs are rarely considered, in spite of the endless trail of murders committed by the use of such weapons and largely inflicted on poor minorities. Violence has become not only more deadly, but flexible, seeping into a range of institutions, cannibalizing democratic values and merging crime and terror. As Jean and John Comaroff point out, under such circumstances a social order emerges that "appears ever more impossible to apprehend, violence appears ever more endemic, excessive and transgressive and police come, in the public imagination, to embody a nervous state under pressure."(23) Public disorder becomes both a spectacle and an obsession and is reflected in advertising and other everyday venues - advertising can even "transform nightmare into desire.... [Yet] violence is never just a matter of the circulation of images. Its exercise, legitimate or otherwise, tends to have decidedly tangible objectives. And effects."(24) An undeniable effect of the warmongering state is the drain on public coffers. The United States has the largest military budget in the world and "in 2010-2011 accounted for 40% of national spending."(25) The Eisenhower Study Group at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies estimates that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have cost the American taxpayers between $3.7 trillion and $4.4 trillion. What is more, funding such wars comes with an incalculable price in human lives and suffering. For example, the Eisenhower Study estimated that there has been over 224,475 lives lost, 363,383 people wounded and seven million refugees and internally displaced people.(26) But war has another purpose, especially for neoconservatives who want to destroy the social state. By siphoning funds and public support away from much-needed social programs, war, to use David Rothkopf's phrase, "diminishes government so that it becomes too small to succeed."(27) The warfare state hastens the dismantling of the social state and its limited safety net, creating the conditions for the ultra-rich, mega corporations and finance capital to appropriate massive amounts of wealth, income and power. This has resulted in, as of 2012, the largest ever increase in inequality of income and wealth in the United States.(28) Structural inequalities do more than distribute wealth and power upward to the privileged few. They also generate forms of collective violence accentuated by high levels of uncertainty and anxiety, all of which, as Michelle Brown points out, "makes recourse to punishment and exclusion highly seductive possibilities."(29) The merging of the punishing and financial state is partly legitimated through the normalization of risk, insecurity and fear in which individuals not only have no way of knowing their fate, but also have to bear individually the consequences of being left adrift by neoliberal capitalism. In American society, the seductive power of the spectacle of violence is fed through a framework of fear, blame and humiliation that circulates widely in popular culture. The consequence is a culture marked by increasing levels of inequality, suffering and disposability. There is not only a "surplus of rage," but also a collapse of civility in which untold forms of violence, humiliation and degradation proliferate. Hyper-masculinity and the spectacle of a militarized culture now dominate American society - one in which civility collapses into rudeness, shouting and unchecked anger. What is unique at this historical conjuncture in the United States is that such public expression of hatred, violence and rage "no longer requires concealment but is comfortable in its forthrightness."(30) How else to explain the support by the majority of Americans for state sanctioned torture, the public indifference to the mass incarceration of poor people of color, or the public silence in the face of police violence in public schools against children, even those in elementary schools? As war becomes the organizing principle of society, the ensuing effects of an intensifying culture of violence on a democratic civic culture are often deadly and invite anti-democratic tendencies that pave the way for authoritarianism. In addition, as the state is hijacked by the financial-military-industrial complex, the "most crucial decisions regarding national policy are not made by representatives, but by the financial and military elites."(31) Such massive inequality and the suffering and political corruption it produces point to the need for critical analysis in which the separation of power and politics can be understood. This means developing terms that clarify how power becomes global even as politics continues to function largely at the national level, with the effect of reducing the state primarily to custodial, policing and punishing functions - at least for those populations considered disposable. The state exercises its slavish role in the form of lowering taxes for the rich, deregulating corporations, funding wars for the benefit of the defense industries and devising other welfare services for the ultra-rich. There is no escaping the global politics of finance capital and the global network of violence that it has created.

#### Neoliberalism causes mass oppression.

Bourdieu 98 (Pierre, sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher) “The essence of neoliberalism” la Monde Diplomatique December 1998

The globalisation of financial markets, when joined with the progress of information technology, ensures an unprecedented mobility of capital. It gives investors concerned with the short-term profitability of their investments the possibility of permanently comparing the profitability of the largest corporations and, in consequence, penalising these firms’ relative setbacks. Subjected to this permanent threat, the corporations themselves have to adjust more and more rapidly to the exigencies of the markets, under penalty of "losing the market’s confidence", as they say, as well as the support of their stockholders. The latter, anxious to obtain short-term profits, are more and more able to impose their will on managers, using financial directorates to establish the rules under which managers operate and to shape their policies regarding hiring, employment, and wages. Thus the absolute reign of flexibility is established, with employees being hiring on fixed-term contracts or on a temporary basis and repeated corporate restructurings and, within the firm itself, competition among autonomous divisions as well as among teams forced to perform multiple functions. Finally, this competition is extended to individuals themselves, through the individualisation of the wage relationship: establishment of individual performance objectives, individual performance evaluations, permanent evaluation, individual salary increases or granting of bonuses as a function of competence and of individual merit; individualised career paths; strategies of "delegating responsibility" tending to ensure the self-exploitation of staff who, simple wage labourers in relations of strong hierarchical dependence, are at the same time held responsible for their sales, their products, their branch, their store, etc. as though they were independent contractors. This pressure toward "self-control" extends workers’ "involvement" according to the techniques of "participative management" considerably beyond management level. All of these are techniques of rational domination that impose over-involvement in work (and not only among management) and work under emergency or high-stress conditions. And they converge to weaken or abolish collective standards or solidarities (3). In this way, a Darwinian world emerges - it is the struggle of all against all at all levels of the hierarchy, which finds support through everyone clinging to their job and organisation under conditions of insecurity, suffering, and stress. Without a doubt, the practical establishment of this world of struggle would not succeed so completely without the complicity of all of the precarious arrangements that produce insecurity and of the existence of a reserve army of employees rendered docile by these social processes that make their situations precarious, as well as by the permanent threat of unemployment. This reserve army exists at all levels of the hierarchy, even at the higher levels, especially among managers. The ultimate foundation of this entire economic order placed under the sign of freedom is in effect the structural violence of unemployment, of the insecurity of job tenure and the menace of layoff that it implies. The condition of the "harmonious" functioning of the individualist micro-economic model is a mass phenomenon, the existence of a reserve army of the unemployed. This structural violence also weighs on what is called the labour contract (wisely rationalised and rendered unreal by the "theory of contracts").

## Extra Cards

#### Colleges have increasingly turned into warzones,

Giroux 9, Henry A. . The Politics of Higher Education and the Militarized Academy after 9/11. Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics, No. 29, The University & Its Discontents: Egyptian & Global Perspectives / ايملاعو ًايلحم :اهمومهو ةعماجلا‎ً (2009), pp. 104-126. Department of English and Comparative Literature, American University in Cairo and American University in Cairo Press. NP 1/1/16.

While there has been an increasing concern among academics and progressives over the growing corporatization of the university, the transformation of academia into what John Armitage calls the "hypermodern militarized knowledge factory"3 has been largely ignored as a subject of contemporary concern and critical debate.4 Such silence has nothing to do with a lack of visibility or the covert attempts to inject a military and security presence in American higher education. Not only is the militarization of higher education made obvious by the presence of over one hundred and fiftymilitary-educational institutions in the United States designed to "train a youthful corps of tomorrow's military officers"5 in the strategies, values, skills, and knowledge of the warfare state, but also, as the American Association of Universities points out, in the existence of hundreds of colleges and universities that conduct Pentagon-funded research, pro vide classes to military personnel, and design programs specifically for future employment with various departments and agencies associated with thewarfare state.6 Rather than being the object of massive individual and collective resistance, the militarization of higher education appears to be endorsed by liberals and conservatives alike. The Association of American Universities argued in a report titledNational Defense Education and Innovation Initiative thatwinning thewar on terrorism and expanding global markets were mutually informing goals, the success ofwhich fell squarely on the performance of universities. This group argued, with a rather cheerful certainty, that every student should be trained to become a soldier in the war on terror and in the battle over global markets, and that the universities should do everything they can "to fill security-relat ed positions in the defense industry, themilitary, the national laborato ries, theDepartment ofDefense and Homeland Security, the intelligence agencies, and other federal agencies."7 It gets worse. Faculty now flock to theDepartment of Defense, the Pentagon, and various intelligence agencies either toprocure government jobs or to apply for grants to support individual research in the service of the national security state.As corporate money for research opportunities dwindles, the Pentagon fills the void with billions of dollars in available grants, stipends, scholarships, and other valuable financial rewards, for which college and university administrators actively and openly compete. Such collaboration seems to be in full swing at a number of universities. For example, Pennsylvania State University, Carnegie Mellon, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, and a host of other universities have surprisingly expanded the reach and influence of thenational securi ty state by entering into formal agreements with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in order to "create a link between leading research university and government agencies."8 Graham Spanier, the President of Perm State, argues in a statement pregnant with irony that the establishment of the National Security Higher Education Advisory Board, which he heads, "sends a positive message that leaders in higher education are willing to assist our nation during these challenging times."9More ominously, US ￼Defense Secretary Gates proposed, in spring 2008, the creation of what he calls a new "Minerva consortium," ironically named after the goddess of wisdom, with the purpose of funding various universities to "carry out social-sciences research relevant to national security."10 Of course, the Pentagon's embrace of intellectuals is far from new. One of its most recent programs, the Human Terrain System, embeds anthropologists and other scholars inwar zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan enabling these "armed intellectuals" to provide information to Army units about the cultures, social networks, and languages of local tribes.11A number of scholars have condemned the program, including the noted anthropologist Catherine Lutz, who rightly argues that "there is a very important role for the university in tackling the problems of contemporary life. But it is wrong to have an institution that specializes in the use of force soliciting research from universities whose job it is to question that institution at its very core."12 Gates, on the other hand, was quick to dismiss such criticism, alleging that it promotes a divisive form of mutual suspicion that "is not good for our men and women in uniform, for our universities, or for our country."13 Of course, the leap from claiming that dissent promotes suspicion to being labeled as un-American is small indeed. As militarization and the reality of extreme violence become central to both political and everyday life, it becomes all the more important for higher education to be defended as a vital public sphere, crucial for both the education of critical citizens and the defense of democratic values and institutions. Given the current threat posed by the national security state to higher education's democratically informed civic mis sion, I want to engage the question of what the role of higher education might be when "the government has a free hand to do whatever itwants in the name of national security"?14 More specifically, I want to offer an alternative analysis of the fate of democracy and the role of higher education, one that refuses to simply serve the expressed needs of mil and the national security state?all of which appear to be pushing the United States towards a new form of authori tarianism.15 In what follows, I first want to situate the development of the university as "hypermodern militarized knowledge factory" within the broader context of what I call a biopolitics militarization and its increased influence and power within American society after the tragic eventsof September 11, 2001. Second, I will highlight and critically engage the specific ways inwhich thismilitarization is shaping various aspects of university life, focusing primarily on the growth of militarized knowledge and research, as well as the growing influence of th A (Central Intelligence Agency) on college campuses. Finally, I will offer some suggestions both for resisting the rising tide of militarization and for reclaiming the university as a democratic public sphere. While focusing on the United States, I believe this analysis also has important implications for universities around the world.

## Inherency

#### A growing number of states explicitly allow possession of handguns on campuses

SGL 13. U.S., 11-1-2013, "Guns in Schools Policy Summary," Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, http://smartgunlaws.org/guns-in-schools-policy-summary/, accessed 1-18-2016. NP 1/18/16.

1. States Generally Prohibiting Firearms at Colleges & Universities Twenty states and the District of Columbia currently have a statute or regulation that prohibits the possession of firearms in colleges, universities and other post-secondary educational institutions. Arkansas’ law applies only to handguns. 2. States Not Explicitly Addressing Gun Possession on College Campuses, Leaving Weapons Possession Regulation to Public Colleges & Universities In 24 states, the state either has expressly allowed colleges and universities to regulate guns, or is silent on the matter, leaving weapons possession regulation decisions up to the governing bodies of colleges and universities in the state: Alabama,178 Alaska, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky,179 Maine,180 Maryland, Minnesota,181 Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota,182 Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and West Virginia. 3. States Specifically Prohibiting Concealed Weapons Permit/License Holders from Carrying on College and University Property Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia explicitly prohibit persons with a concealed weapons permit or license from carrying their concealable firearms on college or university property.183 4. States with Specific Laws Allowing Firearms on Campus A growing number of states are allowing the possession of firearms, primarily concealed handgun possession by permittees or licensees consistent with state law, on many public areas of college and university campuses. **Some of these states also restrict regulation of guns by colleges and universities at certain locations on campus.** Colorado – Colorado courts have found that the Colorado General Assembly is the only entity that can regulate firearm possession on college and university campuses. Under the state’s concealed handgun licensing statute, any person licensed to carry a concealed handgun in Colorado may carry a firearm on campus. Schools may institute policies regulating guns on campus, but do not have the authority to ban guns on campus.184 Idaho – In 2014, Idaho enacted a law removing the authority of the governing bodies of higher education to regulate or prohibit the possession, carrying or transporting of firearms or ammunition by people licensed to carry a concealed handgun. These people may not carry a concealed firearm in a student dormitory or residence hall, however, or in a building of a public entertainment facility that has posted the proper sign prohibiting firearms.185 Michigan – Any person licensed to carry a concealed handgun within the state may carry a concealed gun on school property, but cannot carry a gun in any dormitory or classroom of a community college, college or university, consistent with the state’s concealed carry location limits statute.186 Mississippi – State law allows a person who has taken a voluntary course on the safe handling and use of firearms by a certified instructor to carry a concealed weapon on campus. Applicants must be over age 21 and must pass a background check for the advanced permit.187 Oklahoma – Concealed handgun license holders may carry handguns on campus only in specified areas, including in vehicles in parking lots, on property authorized for possession or use of handguns by school policy, or on property authorized by the written consent of the college or university president.188 Oregon – Concealed handgun license holders may possess firearms on campus, but are restricted in the locations where they may carry. In March 2011, the Court of Appeals of Oregon held that an Oregon State Board of Higher Education’s rule imposing sanctions on persons who possessed or used firearms on university property was invalid because the rule was outside the Board’s authority to regulate firearms and not expressly authorized by the legislative assembly. The court also concluded that the Board’s broad scope of authority to control and manage its properties includes the ability to make rules regarding the conduct of visitors or members of the public on institutional properties.189 In 2012, the Board, using its authority, banned guns, including concealed carry, from classrooms, buildings, dormitories and sporting and entertainment events.190 Utah – In Utah, the state legislature assumed jurisdiction of the state’s public universities in 2004. Universities now permit the lawful possession or carrying of concealed firearms in most areas of their campuses.191 Virginia – Colleges and universities may prohibit gun possession by the general public, including concealed carry permit holders, in the most vulnerable areas of campus (e.g., academic buildings, administrative office buildings, student residence buildings, dining facilities, or while attending sporting, entertainment or educational events), but must allow concealed carry permit holders to possess guns on the open grounds of campus.192 Wisconsin – Colleges and universities must generally allow concealed carry permit holders to carry on campus grounds. Schools may, however, prohibit any person, including a concealed weapons permit holder, from entering or remaining in any privately or publicly-owned building on the grounds of a university or college, if the university or college has notified the person that he or she may not enter or remain in the building while carrying a firearm.193

1. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is the primary source of information in the United States on the nature and extent of criminal victimization. The NCVS collects information on nonfatal personal crimes (rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated and simple assault, and personal larceny) and household property crimes (burglary, motor vehicle theft, and other theft) both reported and not reported to police. It is conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics. NCVS is a self-report survey in which respondents are asked about victimizations experienced during the prior 6 months. Data are obtained from a sample of about 90,000 households, comprising nearly 160,000 individuals which are weighted to be nationally representative. Response rates are typically over 85% for both households and eligible persons. Each household is interviewed twice during the year. Household remain in the sample for 3 years, and eligible persons in these household are interviewed every six months for a total of seven interviews. The first interview is typically in-person with subsequent interviews by phone. The NCVS is administered to household members age 12 or older. Excluded are persons living in military barracks and institutional settings, such as correctional facilities. Victimizations that occurred outside of the United States (less than 1% of all victimizations) are excluded. Data for the current study come from the NCVS for a five year period, 2007–2011. To examine the epidemiology of self-defense gun use, we examined only incidents that involved some degree of personal contact between the offender and the victim—incidents in which a selfprotective action was possible. This includes all assaults (both sexual and non-sexual), robberies, in-person verbal threats and purse snatching, as well as a fraction of burglaries and other thefts. This same subsample of crimes is used to examine the effectiveness of selfdefense gun use and other self-protective actions on the likelihood of victim injury. To examine the effect of self-defense gun use on property loss, we examine a different subset of crimes—those where the primary intent was to steal property. This subset includes all robberies, personal contact larcenies and personal contact burglaries, but not assaults, sexual assaults or verbal threats. Victims are asked, “Was there anything you did or tried to do about the incident while it was going on?” If they say yes, then they are asked “What did you do?” and the answer is classified into one of sixteen types of self-protective action. Victims are then asked “Anything else?” until they have volunteered all the self-protective actions taken. Thus each victim could name many actions. In our analysis, the variable for each action indicates whether the victim did or did not take that particular action. We reduced the sixteen actions to thirteen by combining “Attached offender with a gun” and “Threatened offender with a gun” into “Attacked or threatened with gun” and likewise for “other weapon” and “without weapon.” To ensure that significance tests were not distorted, we used the NCVS “incident weights” but then adjusted them so that the apparent sample size was equal to the actual unweighted sample size. While Lohr and Liu (1994) find that weights are not always necessary when using the NCVS for complex analysis, they also say that weighted estimates are more robust to misspecification of the model and that standard errors are generally higher, leading us to conclude that weighting is the more conservative choice. We used chi-square tests to test for significance. For specific self-defense actions, significant tests compared taking that specific action to not taking that specific action. We defined “at home” as inside respondent's own lodging (dwelling, attached garage, enclosed porch, detached building on own property, vacation home/second home). The NCVS divides locations into rural and urban; because of the perceived high rates of crime in many large cities, we subdivided the urban group into locations with population b 1,000,000 and with population ≥1,000,000 (large urban). Victims were classified as being injured after they took protective action if they were injured concurrently or after taking protective action. We analyzed the data both including (shown in tables) and not including (not shown) incidents in which the victim did not take any protective action. We define “crimes of violence” as assaults, sexual assaults and robberies; not included as crimes of violence are verbal threats, pick pocketing and property crimes. In multivariate analyses we control for age, gender, event occurring at home or away from home, in rural, urban or large urban areas, whether the offender was a male or female, whether the offender had a gun, and thirteen specific self-protective actions the victim might take. As the NCVS data are publicly available and do not contain personal identifiers, the Harvard School of Public Health Institutional Review Board deemed this study to be exempt. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. AJ Julius. Independent People [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/in [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/throughout [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/throughout [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/owner [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ban [↑](#footnote-ref-7)